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JUNIUS IDENTIFIED.

T. Miller, Printer, 5, Noble Street, Cheapside.

Engraved by Freeman.

Published Nov.18, 1816, by Taylor and Hessey, 93, Fleet Street.

THE

IDENTITY OF JUNIUS

WITH A

Distinguished Living Character

ESTABLISHED.

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ac

INCLUDING

THE SUPPLEMENT,

CONSISTING OF

FAC-SIMILES OF HAND-WRITING AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

John Dy Taylor.

IN SESE REDIT.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR TAYLOR AND HESSEY,
93, FLEET STREET.

1818.

GOD
320.0942
Tay/Ode
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ref 826.6

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The demand for a Second Edition of this work affords the Author an opportunity of expressing his satisfaction at the favourable reception it has met with.

Some errors and defects have been removed, which were noticed by the Edinburgh Review: but the principal one, consisting of an imperfect syllogism, was corrected in the Errata to the First Edition. The charge of having quoted too freely from Sir Philip Francis's pamphlets and speeches, the Author must defend on the plea of necessity. They who are thoroughly acquainted with those productions may not require to be told, that in their general character they resemble, and are no way inferior to, the compositions of Junius. But others, who are less familiar with them, would very reasonably demand to see, not brief extracts, but the full flow of sentiment and style to a considerable extent, in the expectation, that if the Identity were not true, some proofs or suspicions to that effect would casually turn up. For them, therefore,

—for the fair discussion of the subject,—for the information of those who know not where to find any of Sir Philip Francis's earlier writings,—and for the sake of making the volume more worthy of being associated with the Letters of Junius,—this portion of it has not been abridged. Other alterations and additions have been made which it is thought will heighten the general effect, without overcharging the subject.

February 12*th*, 1818.

PREFACE.

THOUGH Sir P. FRANCIS is personally unknown to me, no man respects him more than I do, or would be less willing to discuss this subject if it were likely to draw him into difficulties. But at this time of day it is impossible that any harm can accrue to the author of the Letters of JUNIUS. The few, who are still alive, of those who felt a personal interest in his discovery, would now, like the good-natured Sir William Draper, look upon him as "a very honest fellow," with whom, sooner than any other man, they would be glad "to drink a bottle of old Burgundy." They would laugh at their ancient feuds, as at the battles which

they fought at school; and the asperity of his language would now be regarded as a sort of rhetorical ornament:—

> "This rudeness is a sauce to his good wit,
> Which gives men stomach to digest his words
> With better appetite."

Nor can Sir PHILIP on other grounds reasonably object to have his name mentioned in conjunction with that of JUNIUS: for if it were incorrectly done, he should rather wonder at the strength of accidental proof, and hope that from this instance our judges and jurors would learn never to regard presumptive evidence;—if true, he should consider, that the liability to be discovered was the natural consequence of assuming a fictitious character. He challenges the world to find him out: and being the *sole depository of his own secret*, he could only be made known by his own act. That we saw and believed, is not our fault. Can he

expect that men should close their eyes and dull their senses, so as not to discern who JUNIUS is, when he stands before them in his proper person, and declares himself? "Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty*."—I will only add, that I cannot think it wrong to introduce Sir PHILIP FRANCIS to my countrymen, as JUNIUS, so long as I feel that under that title he has additional claims to my gratitude and admiration.

JOHN TAYLOR.

* Milton.

*** *Woodfall's Junius*, 3 *Vols.* 8*vo.* 1812, *is the edition referred to in the following pages.*

JUNIUS IDENTIFIED.

CHAPTER I.

In reading the late enlarged edition of the Letters of Junius, with the design of profiting from the study of what has long been deemed an English Classic, I found so decided a connection, and so many traces of resemblance, between Sir Philip Francis and the anonymous author, that I was tempted to lay the facts before the public. I am now aware of many inaccuracies in that statement. It was too hastily put together, to justify the confidence with which it was advanced. I did not consider that the various minor proofs,

> " As thick and numberless
> " As the gay motes that people the sunbeams,"

which were constantly present to my eyes, from the situation in which I had placed myself, would be of course unseen, and unsuspected, by all those

who either gave the subject but a momentary glance, or were inclined to view it under a different aspect. Nor were the weightier matters worthy, of themselves, to establish that conviction in the mind of others with which my own was impressed, partly from unskilfulness in the selection of them, and partly from the difficulty of doing justice to so complicated a question without too great prolixity.

In one particular there was, I believe, a fundamental *error* in my former statement: whether it was sufficiently important to be styled a "falsehood" I shall not stop to inquire, satisfied if under that mistake the charge finds honourable shelter. I had attributed the production of the Letters of JUNIUS as well to Dr. FRANCIS, as to his son Sir PHILIP. Of some connection between the *latter* and the writer of those Letters, I could not on the evidence of JUNIUS have a doubt. The difficulty of supposing him to be the sole author, lay in the belief that he was at that time only in his 19th year, and therefore too young to have that knowledge of the world, and that experience in composition, for which the author of the Letters was distinguished.

This opinion, into which I was led by an incorrect account of his life, naturally caused me to look around for a probable coadjutor; and in the character of the celebrated Dr. FRANCIS, I cer-

tainly found many of those elements which seemed to me indicative of JUNIUS. As the translator of Demosthenes, he had appeared before the world in a capacity which well qualified him for accomplishing the great work which had been undertaken by JUNIUS, who was often styled by his contemporaries the English Demosthenes. Dr. FRANCIS was an ardent admirer of liberty, though no friend to a republican form of government. In his notes to Demosthenes and Horace, he abounds with passages written in the very spirit of JUNIUS. And of the free use of interrogatives, which contribute so much to the strength and beauty of the style, and form so peculiar a feature in the writings of JUNIUS, Dr. FRANCIS speaks in the highest terms, and furnishes many fine examples*.

But his own character may be more correctly gathered from one passage in his Introduction to Demosthenes, than from any description that can be given. It shews not only the sentiments but the ability of the writer.

" Our orator now appears upon the scene in a character well worthy of his own great abilities; indeed, of all the powers of eloquence. We behold him in personal opposition to, perhaps, the greatest prince that ever sat upon a throne; yet neither awed by his power, imposed upon by his artifices, or corrupted by his gold. Animated by the love

* FRANCIS'S Demosthenes, i. 54.

of liberty, that noblest of all human passions, he stands forth the guardian and defender of his country: an equal terror to the tyrant, who would enslave her, as to the traitors who would betray. Whatever sentiments *that* passion can inspire, whatever arguments good sense can dictate, whatever ideas of highest sublimity his own great genius could conceive, the reader will find in the following orations, philippics, and olynthiacs. After such a character of them, what modest excuse can be made for the translator? He professes, and surely without suspicion of affectation, his apprehension of sinking under the attempt. *Yet while he feels the influence of the same passions that animate the original,* he will not wholly despair of the translation*."

It is said that Dr. FRANCIS was a favourite with the king, who consulted him on many occasions. He was also the intimate friend of Garrick, whose endeavours to discover JUNIUS gave him so much annoyance. And in addition to these instances of general resemblance, it must not be unnoticed that Dr. FRANCIS had that connection with the family of the late Lord Holland, which accounts satisfactorily for the respect and forbearance which JUNIUS observed, whenever they were mentioned.

As in the following pages it is not attempted

* FRANCIS's Demosthenes, i. 47.

to prove that Dr. FRANCIS had actually any share in writing the Letters of JUNIUS, we shall not press the subject farther than to remark, that the preceding facts are worthy of attention, for the influence they may be supposed to have had on the habits, feelings, and principles of Sir PHILIP. In removing their operation one degree, the effect they would have had, in the first instance, will be found to be little weakened; for as it is likely that he would derive many *peculiarities* of style, and modes of thinking, from the writings and instruction of his father, so the prevalence of these same characteristics in the Letters of JUNIUS, is, *primâ facie*, in favour of their being the composition of the son.

No person, at the present day, could expect to find in the avowed productions of JUNIUS any clue, that would directly lead to a discovery of the author. Had this knowledge been attainable from the Letters which have hitherto appeared under his name, the curiosity of the public would long since have received its gratification: but, *qui nescit dissimulare nescit vivere*, was a maxim too well understood by the writer, to admit of his forgetting it on such important occasions. The only prospect of obtaining light on the subject consisted, therefore, in those Private and Miscellaneous Letters which have recently made their appearance. To these my attention was more particularly directed

by common curiosity, without any expectation of finding out the writer. In this quarter, however, those passages were observed, which gave rise to the present investigation.

Nearly at the end of the third volume, I was struck with the unparalleled zeal which the writer displayed in the cause of two individuals belonging to the War-office. It appeared that Mr. D'Oyley, a clerk in that establishment, had a short time before been deprived of his situation, through the interference of Lord Barrington: and the writer of the Letter to which I allude, desires Mr. Woodfall to inform the public, "that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the War-office, had at last contrived to expel Mr. FRANCIS*." The Editor states in a note, that this was the present Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. Surprised at the occurrence of this name, and at an interference so extraordinary, I began to consider whether Sir PHILIP might not have been the writer. His general character for politics and literature proved him to possess the requisite qualifications; and on reference to his Life in the Public Characters, I saw sufficient evidence, as I thought, to confirm my conjecture. The impression made by the facts there related, was strengthened by a comparison of style. From these materials a statement was drawn up, entitled a Discovery of the Author of the Letters.

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 444, signature VETERAN.

Before it went to press, I requested a friend to call on Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, and inform him, that if he had the slightest objection to have his name connected with the investigation, he might rely on the total suppression of the work. I am satisfied this communication was made in a way which must have convinced Sir PHILIP that it proceeded solely from a respect for his feelings, and that what was proposed would be performed. It was perhaps due to him that not a step should be taken without his permission; nor could his refusal betray him into an implied admission of the truth of the charge. A simple negative would leave it still undetermined, whether his aversion proceeded from a dread of the disclosure,—or from a tender respect for his father's memory,—or from a reasonable dislike to that free discussion of his own character and qualifications, which the question of necessity required. His reply was liberal enough. "You are quite at liberty to print whatever you think proper, provided nothing scandalous be said respecting my private character."

Soon after the appearance of the pamphlet, the editor of the Monthly Magazine, intending to notice it in that work, wrote to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, to ask him whether the conjecture was correct. The editor did not recollect the distinction drawn by that strict moralist, Dr. Johnson, between spontaneous and extorted acknowledgments; or, pro-

bably, he would not have taken the trouble to make this application.

"BOSWELL. Supposing the person who wrote JUNIUS were asked whether he was the author, might he deny it?

"JOHNSON. I don't know what to say to this. If you were *sure* that he wrote JUNIUS, would you, if he denied it, think as well of him afterwards? Yet it may be urged that what a man has no right to ask, you may refuse to communicate; and there is no other effectual mode of preserving a secret, and an important secret, the discovery of which may be very hurtful to you, but a *flat denial*; for if you are silent, or hesitate, or *evade*, it will be held equivalent to a confession. But stay, Sir, here is another case. Supposing the author had told me confidentially that he had written JUNIUS, and I were asked if he had, I should hold myself at liberty to deny it, as being under a previous promise, express or implied, to conceal it. Now, what I ought to do for the author, may I not do for myself?*"

Had the editor of the Monthly Magazine looked for an *affirmative* to his question, he should have recollected that he was not addressing one

"Who would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,"

to make the confession. Some obstacles, it might have been supposed, were still in the way of such

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, iv. 344.

an admission, or as soon as he was publicly affirmed to be the author, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS would have owned the fact, without waiting for the decent opportunity afforded by the ingenious editor. If, on the other hand, a *direct contradiction* was contemplated, the reasoning of Dr. Johnson shews that not much faith was due to that. Of an *evasive* answer, it seems that no suspicion was entertained: the editor thought, "good easy man full surely," that either *yes* or *no* would be the frank reply, and in his own opinion he obtained the latter.

When JUNIUS wished to disavow a letter published under his name, and *actually written by himself*, he would not suffer the printer flatly to deny its authenticity, but he instructed him to get rid of it by a side wind. He desired Woodfall to "recal" the letter, but in such equivocal terms as would effect the purpose, without directly committing the integrity of the writer. "Suppose you were to say, 'We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed JUNIUS, in this paper, was not written by the real JUNIUS, though the observation escaped us at the time:' or, if you can hit off any thing yourself *more plausible*, you will much oblige me, *but without a positive assertion**." Woodfall took the hint, and deprived that letter of its legitimacy by the following note: "We have

* JUNIUS, i. 199.—Private Letter to Woodfall.

some reason to suspect that the last letter signed JUNIUS, inserted in this paper of Thursday last, was not written by the real JUNIUS, though we imagine it to have been sent by some one of his waggish friends, who has taken great pains to write in a manner similar to that of JUNIUS, which observation escaped us at that time. The printer takes the liberty to hint that it will not do a second time*."

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was the author of the Letters, it would follow, that were he placed in the same dilemma in which JUNIUS on this occasion found himself, his conduct would, in all likelihood, be similar to that which JUNIUS adopted. Unwilling to acknowledge, yet unable to deny, he would doubtless seek shelter in ambiguous terms. He would strive to convey that meaning by the spirit, which in strictness would not follow from the letter of his reply. He would disclaim the thing hypothetically: "there is much virtue in an *if*." It would be done, we may be sure, in a *plausible* manner, *but without a positive assertion.*

Let it be observed, that it is only the author of the Letters of JUNIUS who can be expected to act in this manner. No other man is bound by the precedent; nor have we a right to suppose that

* JUNIUS, iii. 219.—Note, by the Printer.

any man, but the real author, would hesitate to give a plain and unequivocal answer to the question, *Are you Junius?*

It suits neither my purpose nor my inclination to give a false colouring to this singular affair. The following extract from the Monthly Magazine will shew the reader the exact nature of the question put to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, and in what *guarded* terms he couched his reply.

Speaking of the pamphlet which contains the charge, "We confess, (says the editor of the Magazine,) we were at first startled by this hypothesis, from its temerity; because, if not true, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS would be able by a word to disprove it; and it could not be supposed that so much labour and expense would be hazarded except on indubitable grounds. To be able therefore to render this article as conclusive as possible, we addressed Sir PHILIP FRANCIS on the subject, in the way the least likely to render the inquiry offensive; and in reply received the following epistle, which we insert at length, in justice to Sir PHILIP and the public.

"SIR,

"The great civility of your letter induces me to answer it, which, with reference merely to its subject matter, I should have declined. Whether you will assist in giving currency to a silly,

malignant falsehood, is a question for your own discretion. To me it is a matter of perfect indifference.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours, &c.

"P. FRANCIS."

To the Editor of The Monthly Magazine *.

I need not ask the reader whether this letter is evasive or not. He will perhaps wonder how any one can have been misled by it for a moment. Sir Richard Phillips, however, with a simplicity that does him honour, did not perceive the futility of this pretended disavowal, though he had just stated, properly enough, that if the hypothesis were "not true, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS would be able, by *a word*, to disprove it." It certainly is not so disproved, and we are therefore authorised to conclude that it could not fairly be disputed. No man, who had it in his power to give a simple negative to such a question, would have had recourse to an *innuendo*. The only surprising part of the transaction is, that any answer should have been returned by one who knew that he could not send a better; but perhaps Sir PHILIP had no suspicion that it would be printed *verbatim* in the Monthly Magazine. He must have thought the editor of that publication would state the denial in

* Monthly Magazine, July, 1813.

his own way, and that if an impression were made on his mind in the first instance, the public would be convinced at second hand.

Without supposing this, we are involved in a difficulty of a very peculiar kind: the abundance of the evidence being actually in danger of stifling the charge. For it would appear, that if Sir PHILIP calculated on his own reply being given to the public, he could scarcely have taken a more effectual step to make the world believe that he was JUNIUS. His unequivocal affirmation of the fact would not have been so directly convincing, since there exists no reason why the author, whoever he be, should now make that disclosure which he had resolved to withhold for ever; and unless some sufficient motive apparently urged him to a public acknowledgment, his claiming it would but subject him to the imputation of unfounded pretensions.

On the other hand, to deem the evasion unintentional, is not only affronting to the understanding of Sir PHILIP, but at variance with every trait in his character. It is in the memory of many members of the House of Commons, how skilfully he can parry attacks like the present, by a mode not very dissimilar*. Nor is it likely

* See Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxi. p. 113. and vol. xxii. p. 111.

that he who was styled by Mr. Burke, "*the first pamphlet-writer of the age*," and who has all his life been engaged in political controversy, should on this occasion alone be at a loss for words in which to convey his meaning. It is well known that, in all he writes, his expressions are selected with unusual care, and that he has thereby acquired a wonderful strength and precision of style.

But there is another test for ascertaining the character of this reply. It affects to charge the statement of a discovery with *malignity* as well as *falsehood*. Now I am perfectly willing that the degree of its malignity shall be the measure of its falsehood. I am certainly free from that bad passion in every thing which concerns Sir PHILIP FRANCIS: and from the little work to which he would affix the epithet, it is impossible to bring a *single proof* in support of the assertion. In this case we are all competent judges.—If then there is no malignity, there is no falsehood.—But Sir PHILIP would laugh if I seriously attempted to refute his insinuation: he charges me neither with malignity nor falsehood. The denial, as far concerns himself, and the accusation, as far it concerns me, both hinge on a condition, "*Whether* you will assist in giving currency," &c.; which has no more to do with the question under discussion, than it has with the Pope of Rome.

It is said by divines, that the punishment of

evil spirits will be aggravated by their being compelled to pass sentence on themselves. The utmost stretch of my *malignity* towards Sir PHILIP shall go no further than to put JUNIUS in the chair, and record the sentence he would award on this occasion.

"Whenever a fact is touched upon, there I fix. When a distinct charge is made, I look for a distinct and particular answer, that denies, or admitting, explains, or in some favourable manner accounts for the fact charged. If instead of this I find nothing more than a paper, in which the author of the charge is called names, I am obliged, as an equitable judge, to consider the cause *not as defended, but as utterly abandoned;* and the Court *must enter an admission* by his own advocate *of the charge against him**."

Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, in his own person, maintains the same doctrine; "When nothing is said in support of the *affirmative* of any question, *that circumstance alone is sufficient to justify the negative*†."

And JUNIUS gives us this further maxim for the occasion:—"*not to defend, is to relinquish*§."

* JUNIUS, iii. 208, signature AMICUS CURIÆ.

† Mr. FRANCIS's Minute, 18th July, 1778. Vide No. 70, Appendix to the Sixth Report of the Secret Committee on the Carnatic War.

§ JUNIUS, ii. 178, signature JUNIUS.

Before quitting this topic, I beg to assure Sir PHILIP FRANCIS that I am in perfect good humour with him, notwithstanding this finesse respecting falsehood and malignity. I am not so testy as to say, "Do you bite your thumb at me, Sir," because he chooses to bite his thumb. The respect I entertain for him would rather incline me to address him in these words of our great poet,

> "Here I salute thee, and thy pardon ask,
> That now I use thee in my latter task:—"

a task which he may rest assured I should never have undertaken, had he not called on me to justify my original statement by the charges thus indirectly brought against it.

CHAPTER II.

HAVING frequent occasion, in the course of this inquiry, to refer to the Memoir of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, contained in the Monthly Mirror, I shall make no apology for inserting it in this place. A vein of pleasantry runs through the account, incompatible, it may be thought, with the gravity of *our* investigation; but I shall be the last to complain of any addition to my reader's amusement. As the biographical sketch is attributed to a gentleman, whose intimacy with Sir PHILIP leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of the facts, it is of importance that it should be given entire.

"MEMOIRS OF SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, K. B.

"The origin of this gentleman is not, like that of some of the greatest names of antiquity, buried in the impenetrable obscurity of unrecorded ages. He was born in Dublin on the 22d of October, 1740, old style. His father, PHILIP FRANCIS, D. D. is sufficiently known in the learned world. His grandfather, JOHN FRANCIS, was dean of the cathedral of Lismore in Ireland, to which he was appointed on the 30th of July, 1722, and his great-

grandfather, JOHN FRANCIS, became dean of Leighlin, by patent, dated 21st of August, 1696, and appears by Ware's History of Ireland, to have sat in convocation in Dublin, in 1704. This old gentleman is also supposed to have had a father, whose name and memory are unfortunately lost in the abyss of time. These particulars have been carefully collected from the herald's offices in Doctor's Commons, and in Dublin. In the former, it was discovered by a great antiquary, whose business it was to find materials for the pedigree of Sir PHILIP, on his admission to the order of the Bath, that previous to the coronation of Richard II. Richard Francis, who bore exactly the same arms as the present knight, was created a Knight of the Bath, and if Sir PHILIP does not descend lineally from that person, it was entirely his own fault. The heralds offered to prove it by an exact genealogy, provided always that Sir PHILIP would pay down two hundred pounds for such advantage. After maturely weighing the honour against the price, he is believed to have declined that liberal offer. His mother's name appears to have been Elizabeth Roe, whose father thought himself descended from the famous Sir Thomas Roe, who lived in the reign of James the First, and was sent embassador to the great Mogul, by that learned monarch. But here again the links are wanting, or the heralds ran mute for want of encouragement.

" Sir PHILIP received the first elements of his education under Thomas Ball, who succeeded Dr. Dunkin, (names well known in Ireland) and who kept a school in a church in Ship-street. In the beginning of 1750 he came to England. In 1753 he was placed at St. Paul's school, under the care of Mr. George Thicknesse, of whose virtues and learning we have often heard him make honourable mention, and always with an effusion of gratitude for the care he took of him. In 1756 Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, gave him a little place in the Secretary of State's office. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronized and encouraged him, in consequence of the recommendation of his secretary, Robert Wood. Through that patronage he was appointed secretary to General Bligh, in 1758, was present at the capture and demolition of Cherburgh, and at the attack on the rear guard of our army at St. Cas. From mere curiosity, and without arms, he was found standing in the ranks when the French approached very near, and the firing began. In 1760, by the same recommendation, he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, embassador to Lisbon, when the present Queen of Portugal was married to her uncle. The uncle and the niece had a son, the present Prince of the Brazils, who married his mother's sister. Such is the constitution of the house of Braganza. In 1763 he was appointed by the late Lord Mendip,

then Welbore Ellis, Esq. and Secretary at War, to a considerable post in the War-office, which he resigned in the beginning of 1772, in consequence of a difference with Viscount Barrington, by whom he thought himself injured. Possibly Lord Barrington thought so too, or that something was due to Mr. FRANCIS, as will appear hereafter. The greatest part of the year 1772 he spent in travelling through Flanders, part of Germany, the Tyrol, Italy, and France, with his intimate friend, the late David Godfrey. During his residence at Rome he went to Castel Gondolfo, where he was introduced to Pope Ganganelli, and had a curious conference with his holiness, of near two hours, the particulars of which are, it is said, preserved in a letter from him to the late Dr. Campbell, with whom he was very intimate. In about half a year after his return to England, Lord Barrington most honourably and generously recommended him to Lord North, by whom his name was inserted in an act of parliament, past in June, 1773, to be a member of the council appointed for the government of Bengal, in conjunction with Warren Hastings, governor-general; John Clavering, commander in chief; George Monson; and Richard Barwell.

"The records of his long contest with Mr. Hastings are preserved in the books of the council, the reports of the committee, and in the journals of the House of Commons.

" On the dissolution of parliament in 1784, he was elected for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. On the 27th of July following, he happened to make use of an expression in the House of Commons for which the late Mr. Pitt never forgave him. After speaking of the first Earl of Chatham with all possible honour, he unfortunately added, " but he is dead, and has left nothing in this world that resembles him." On the 19th of April, 1787, he moved the revenue charge against Mr. Hastings, and carried it against Mr. Pitt, the whole strength of government, and the Indian interest, by a majority of seventy-one to fifty-five. Mr. Pitt was determined to be even with him, and on the 11th of December, 1787, employed two of his dependants to move that his name should be omitted, when the managers to conduct the impeachment were appointed, and he himself had nothing better to say than " that it was a question not of argument but of feeling." Mr. FRANCIS's speech on this occasion, at least as it is printed, appears to us perfect in its composition, and unanswerable in its argument*. After confuting all the personal objections made to him, with a noble indifference about the event of the question, he turns to the friends of Mr. Hastings, with an apostrophe, by which, as we have often heard, even Major John Scott was overcome.

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxii. p. 97.

'Thirteen years are now elapsed since I first was connected in office with Mr. Hastings. Six of them were wasted in India, in perpetual contest with him. Seven years ago, I left him there in possession of absolute power. In all that time no charges have been produced against me. Yet I think it cannot be said that I have been particularly cautious not to provoke hostility, or that there is no disposition any where to accuse me. Surely, Sir, if accusation is ever to come, it is high time it should appear. If now, or at any other period, I should be obliged to change place with Mr. Hastings; if hereafter it should be my lot to be accused, I shall assuredly never object to *his* being my prosecutor: for, though by removing a powerful, a well-informed, and, in the sense of the present argument, an inveterate accuser, I might provide for my safety, my honour would be lost. Let those gentlemen, who are trusted with the care of Mr. Hastings's honour, consider what they are doing.'

"On this occasion, the managers of the impeachment thought it an act of justice and gratitude due to Mr. FRANCIS to address the following letter to him.

'SIR, *Committee-room, House of Commons, Dec.* 18, 1787.

'There is nothing in the orders of the house which prevents us from resorting to your assistance; and we should shew very little regard to our

honour, to our duty, or to the effectual execution of our trust, if we omitted any means, that are left in our power, to obtain the most beneficial use of it.

'An exact local knowledge of the affairs of Bengal is requisite in every step of our proceedings; and it is necessary that our information should come from sources not only competent but unsuspected. We have perused, as our duty has often led us to do, with great attention, the records of the company, during the time in which you executed the important office committed to you by parliament; and our good opinion of you has grown in exact proportion to the minuteness and accuracy of our researches. We have found that, as far as in you lay, you fully answered the ends of your arduous allegation. An exact obedience to the authority placed over you by the laws of your country, wise and steady principles of government, an inflexible integrity in yourself, and a firm resistance to all corrupt practice in others, crowned by an uniform benevolent attention to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives (the grand leading object in your appointment), appear eminently throughout those records. Such a conduct, so tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demands our fullest confidence.

'These, Sir, are the qualities, and this is the conduct on your part, on which we ground our

wishes for your assistance. On what we are to ground our *right* to make any demand upon you we are more at a loss to suggest. Our sole title, we are sensible, are to be found in the public exigencies, and in your public spirit. Permit us, Sir, to call for this further service in the name of the people of India, for whom your parental care has been so long distinguished, and in support of whose cause you have encountered so many difficulties, vexations, and dangers.

'We have expressed sentiments in which we are unanimous, and which, with pride and pleasure, we attest under all our signatures, intreating you to favour us as frequently as you can, with your assistance in the committee; and you shall have due notice of the days on which your advice and instructions may be more particularly necessary.

"We have the honour to be,
"with the most perfect respect, Sir,
"your most faithful and obliged humble servants,

Edmund Burke, chairman.
Charles James Fox.
R. B. Sheridan.
Thomas Pelham, (now Earl of Chichester).
W. Windham.
Gilbert Elliott, (now Lord Minto).
Charles Grey, (now Earl Grey).
William Adam.
John Anstruther.
M. A. Taylor.
Maitland, (now Earl Lauderdale).
Dudley Long.
John Burgoyne.
George Augustus North, (late Lord Guildford).
St. Andrew St. John, (now Lord St. John).
Richard Fitzpatrick.
Roger Wilbraham.
John Courtenay.
James Erskine, (now Earl of Rosslyn).'

"The character given of Mr. FRANCIS, by Mr. Burke and Lord Minto, in their places in the House of Commons, ought to be here inserted.

"Extract of Mr. Burke's speech on Mr. Fox's East-India Bill, on December 1, 1783.

'Uncommon patience and temper supported Mr. FRANCIS a while longer, under the baneful influence of the commendation of the Court of Directors; his health, however, gave way at length, and in utter despair he returned to Europe: at his return, the doors of the India House were shut to this man, who had been the object of their constant admiration. He has indeed escaped with life, but he has forfeited all expectation of credit, consequence, party, and following. He may well say,

'Me nemo ministro
Fur erit, atque ideò nulli comes exeo.'

'This man, whose deep reach of thought, whose large legislative conceptions, and whose grand plans of policy, make the most shining part of our reports, from whence we have learned all our lessons, if we have learned any good ones; this man, from whose materials those gentlemen, who have least acknowledged it, have yet spoken as from a brief; this man, driven from his employment, discountenanced by the Directors, has had no other reward, and no other distinction, but that inward 'sunshine of the soul' which a good con-

science can always bestow on itself. He has not yet had so much as a good word, but from a person too insignificant to make any other return for the means, with which he has been furnished, for performing his share of a duty which is equally urgent on us all.'

"We must content ourselves with a few lines from the speech of Sir Gilbert Elliott, on moving the first charge against Sir Elijah Impey, 12th December, 1787.

'In delivering my opinion of my honourable friend (Mr. FRANCIS), I am not so madly vain as to think it can add any thing to his honours---it is not for him, Sir, it is to do myself honour, that I say here what I have often said elsewhere, that of all the great and considerable men whom this country possesses, there is not one in the empire who has a claim so much beyond all question, who can shew a title so thoroughly authenticated, as this gentleman, to the admiration, the thanks, the reward, the love of his country, and of the world. If I am asked for proof, I say, the book of his life is open before you; it has been read, it has been examined in every line by the diligent inquisition, the searching eye, of malice and envy. Has a single blot been found? Is there one page, which has not been traced by virtue and by wisdom? Virtue, Sir, not of the cold and neutral quality, which is contented to avoid reproach by shrinking from

action, and is the best ally of vice; but virtue fervent, full of ardour, of energy, of effect. Wisdom, Sir, not the mere flash of genius and of talents, though these are not wanting; but wisdom informed, deliberate, and profound. I know, Sir, the warmth imputed to, nay, possessed by that character. It is a warmth which does but burnish all his other virtues. His heart is warm, his judgment is cool, and the latter of these features none will deny, except those, who have not examined, or wish to disbelieve it.'

"Having given the evidences in favour of Mr. FRANCIS, we should act partially and unfairly, though without a personal motive of any kind, if we did not state, *per contra*, what has been said of him by a person, who, after making a great noise in the world, seems now to be lost and forgotten, and who certainly must have known whether what he said of him was true or false. In the Appendix, No. XI. to the fifth Report of the select committee, in 1782, there is a minute of Mr. Hastings, communicated to Mr. FRANCIS, on the night of the 14th of August, 1780, in which he says—

'My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr. FRANCIS, depends on facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be *void of truth and honour*. This is a severe charge,

but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and to myself, as the only redress to both for artifices, of which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud, for which the law has made no provision, is the exposure of it.

"These *innuendos* were immediately followed by a challenge from Mr. FRANCIS. They met on the 17th of August, and he was shot through the body for his trouble. Whatever might be the artifices employed by the cold, plotting treachery of Mr. FRANCIS, to circumvent a man so artless and free from guile as Mr. Hastings, *homo simplex et incautus*, it is plain from the event, that Mr. Hastings was not the victim of them.

"Mr. FRANCIS left Bengal in December, 1780, passed five months at St. Helena, and arrived in England in October, 1781, when nobody would speak to him but the King and Edmund Burke. It appears, by one of his speeches, that his Majesty was very gracious to him. Since that time his parliamentary life has been before the public. One of the principal incidents in it was the resentment, truly unqualified, which he expressed in the House of Commons, on the 16th July, 1784, at the conduct of Lord Thurlow, then chancellor, who had declared in the House of Lords, 'that it

would have been happy for this country, if General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. FRANCIS, had been drowned in their passage to India.' His observations on this curious reflection were delivered in the true spirit of a philippic, and with a fury, which, considering the relative situation of the parties, astonished every body. But, what is still more curious, no man was ever so much courted by another, as Mr. FRANCIS was afterwards by Lord Thurlow, who probably had taken time to repent of that idle speech above mentioned. They lived much together in society, and, long before Lord Thurlow died, they were very good friends.

"The merits of Mr. FRANCIS's conduct in India, and the steady part he took in India affairs, as long as he had a seat in the House of Commons, have been generally acknowledged, but especially, and most emphatically of all men, by Mr. Fox. On the change of the ministry, in 1806, as soon as the death of Lord Cornwallis was known, there was no doubt in the mind of any man, not in the secret of the last coalition, that Mr. FRANCIS would be appointed to succeed him. Mr. Fox, it is to be presumed, had his reasons for preferring the Earl of Lauderdale, who in a publication, three years later than that event, with great candour, has declared that 'he secretly felt ashamed of his imperfect knowledge of the subject he was called upon to discuss; a feeling, to which he was perhaps more

sensibly alive, from the recollection that he had been selected by the partiality of one, who is no more, to fill the first situation in the management of the East India Company's affairs.'

On the 29th of October, 1806, his Majesty, at the recommendation of Lord Grenville, was pleased to invest Mr. FRANCIS with the expensive honour of the Order of the Bath. A wiser man would have preferred some profit to so much honour, or have contrived, by the usual courses, to have united them; and especially as he professes, and has publicly declared that, since 1770, he has never received a shilling of the public money of England, in any shape, or on any account.

"This is but a slight sketch of the subject, and a very hasty view of the person. The public life of such a man, so well acquainted with the principal persons of his time, and intimate with many of them, conversant in all the transactions of his country, and mixed in some of them, though barren of events for the Gazette, would be interesting and instructive, if it were undertaken and executed by himself. The history of an ardent mind in perpetual action or pursuit, never succeeding, but never courting repose or yielding to despondence, could not fail to communicate a projectile motion to other minds in parallel directions, and to similar objects. They would see that success is not necessary to happiness, much less to

honour, and that he, who contends against adversity and persists without hope, cannot be wholly disappointed.

"Human virtue should be encouraged to believe, what this man's life has proved to be true, that, in some shape or other, though not in prosperity, there is a reward for perseverance in doing right.

> "Tho' still by folly, vice, and faction crost,
> He finds the generous labour was not lost."

"The approbation of posterity would be no recompense if it could not be anticipated. The posthumous praise, the statue, and the monument, are incentives to others, but are lost upon the dead. *He* virtually and immediately receives the tribute, who is sure it will be paid to his memory;

> "Enjoys the honours destin'd to his name,
> And lives *instanter* with his future fame*."

Thus far proceeds the author of the Memoirs, evidently with good authority for all he says; so that if any thing adverse to our view appears on the face of this record, there can be no contending with it. Of equal validity is what fell from Sir PHILIP in the course of a speech on India affairs, when he gave a short account of "such particular circumstances of his public life as bore any relation

* Monthly Mirror, May and June, 1810.

to his going to India, his conduct there, and his conduct since his return to England." As this account will throw additional light upon the information derived from his biographer, it is useful to our present inquiry. Mr. FRANCIS observed, "That he had been bred up in the Secretary of State's office, where he had the happiness to possess the favour of the late Earl of Egremont, then Secretary of State. That in 1763, Mr. Ellis had appointed him to fill a station of great trust in the War-office: that Lord Barrington, who succeeded Mr. Ellis, had recommended him to a noble Lord (whose absence, and more particularly the cause of it, he very sincerely lamented) as a fit person to be sent out to India as a member of the government of Bengal: till that recommendation, he had not (Mr. FRANCIS declared) the honour of being known to Lord North. He had, therefore, obtained a seat in the council at Calcutta, not through any private interest or intrigue, but he was taken up upon recommendation, and *that* the recommendation of persons of high rank, those who best knew his character and qualifications, and who certainly would not have so far disgraced themselves as to have recommended an improper person, knowing him to be such, to go out to India in a station of so much power and importance. He had, accordingly, been nominated with General Clavering and Colonel Monson in the bill of 1773*."

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxii. p. 97.

CHAPTER III.

In my former publication I was led into an error which I must acknowledge, and I am glad to have this opportunity of making the correction. In the Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis there quoted, it is said that he was born in the year 1748. By the preceding Life, which is unquestionably the more correct, it appears that he was born in 1740. This fact is important. Instead of being nineteen, Sir Philip was *twenty-seven years old*, when the first of the Miscellaneous Letters, being the earliest of the known productions of Junius, made its appearance. All the Letters, under the name of Junius, were written when Sir Philip was passing from his *twenty-ninth* to his *thirty-second year*:—a time of life in which it has been often remarked, men generally undertake the greatest designs of which they are capable. And surely he, who is at any time able to compose such Letters as these, is even more likely to produce them during such a period than at any other; since the ardour of youth, which alone could stimulate and carry him through such great exertions, is yet in full action, while the judgment

has received such lessons from experience, as naturally fortify opinion. To this ardour of JUNIUS in the cause he had espoused, the Author of the Essay, prefixed to the last edition, bears the following testimony. "No man but he, who with a thorough knowledge of our author's style, undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser for the three years in question, can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to."—"Instead of wondering that he should have disappeared at the distance of about five years, we ought much rather to be surprised that he should have persevered through half this period, with a spirit at once so indefatigable and invincible*." Yet under the conviction of this singular enthusiasm of JUNIUS, the same writer thinks it "absurd to suppose that he could be much less than fifty;" grounding his supposition on the following passage in one of the letters to Woodfall: "*After a long experience of the world*, I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy."

"Now when this declaration," says the author of the Essay, "is coupled with the two facts, that he made it under the repeated promise and intention of speedily disclosing himself to his correspondent, and that the correspondent thus schooled, by a

* JUNIUS, i. 47. Preliminary Essay.

moral axiom gleaned from his own *long* experience of the world, was at this very time something more than thirty years of age; it seems absurd to suppose that JUNIUS could be much less than fifty, or that he affected an age he had not actually attained*."

Whatever may be thought of the vanity of JUNIUS, in speaking of his own long experience of the world to a man as old as himself, his conduct and language were exactly imitated by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, when at the age of forty-six, he addressed the assembled members of the House of Commons in the following strain:

"I speak from *long observation and experience*, and with all the deliberation and conviction of which my understanding is capable, when I affirm, that to unite all the powers of government in India in one person, would be a dangerous measure in one view of it, and a useless measure in every other†."

The reader will doubtless think with me, that from the words in question no positive inference can be drawn with respect to the writer's age; and that if it be allowed to extract conclusions at this rate, the most contradictory opinions may be supported.

But JUNIUS, on another occasion, alludes to his

* JUNIUS, i. 46. Preliminary Essay.

† Mr. Francis's Speech, March 7, 1786, p. 28.

time of life. The passage occurs in one of his letters to Wilkes. "Many thanks for your obliging offer; but, alas! my *age and figure* would do but little credit to my partner. I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia; but, in truth, I see no connexion between JUNIUS and a minuet*."

The general and vague idea of age and infirmity which this hint conveys, is unworthy of serious consideration, because it was clearly his desire and intention that some grave senator should be taken for the author of those Letters. He, therefore, very naturally insinuates, (but as before, *plausibly, and without a positive assertion)* that his condition was such as to disqualify him from dancing with Miss Wilkes. A sense also of the incongruity of such an amusement with the profession of so stern a patriotism as he was displaying, seems to come across his mind, and causes him very properly to observe, that he sees no connexion between JUNIUS and a minuet.

But when there was no particular reason why JUNIUS should affect to be thought older than he really was, it does not seem that his natural disposition would prompt him to decline so flattering an invitation. Look at his letter to JUNIA†;—there his age is much less doubtfully indicated:—

* JUNIUS, i. *325. Private letter to Wilkes.

† JUNIUS, iii. p. 218, signature JUNIUS.

he is unwilling to be considered either so *old* or so *infirm*, as to "do but little credit" to a handsome partner. The style of this letter is so evidently that of a *young* man, that it was, in my opinion, the sole reason for his repenting of its publication: it revealed too much. At all events, the unguarded levity with which he wrote it, and the anxiety with which he desired its recal, prove pretty clearly what belonged to the *natural man*, and what to the *assumed character*.

Whether a man at thirty-one may speak with propriety of *his long experience of the world*, is, after all, a question which every individual must determine for himself. Perhaps it may be said, that every man at that age *imagines* he has had *long experience*. But though I may differ from the Author of the Essay, in his opinion of the probable age of JUNIUS, I am perfectly ready to acquiesce in the characteristic trait that follows: viz. "that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an *ample* knowledge and experience of the world*." We all know that to gain this knowledge depends, not so much on the time a man has lived, as on the use he has made of opportunities. "Great men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand judgment."

* JUNIUS, i. p. 98. Preliminary Essay.

But here it may be asked. What grounds are there for supposing that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, above most men, had attained that early knowledge of the world? What proofs have we that he had acquired so deep a knowledge of politics in particular, as to be qualified at the age of thirty to produce the Letters of JUNIUS? I would answer these questions by producing the evidence of Sir PHILIP himself. In a speech against the endeavours of Great Britain to compel Russia to restore Oczakow to the Turks, he expressed himself as follows.—

"In this place, Sir, I wish I had ability to attract the attention of the House, and to fix it, if possible, on some considerations connected with the subjects in debate, and essential, in my mind, to the future peace and security of the kingdom. I have lived to see great changes in the government and policy of nations, in France, in Holland, in Poland, and America. But I declare most seriously, and most solemnly, that I have seen no revolution among nations so extraordinary as that which has taken place in my own time, in the temper and character of this country. The countenance that expressed, the features that distinguished, the character of England, are faded and effaced. We have now neither prejudices nor principles;—nothing original, nothing of our own. When I first came into life, when, without experience or

capacity to judge, I had opportunity to observe upon public transactions and national dispositions, I do affirm, that the prevailing principle, the favourite language, not only at court, but universally throughout the kingdom, was to reprobate German alliances, and to withdraw from continental connections of every kind. This was the declared system of the government at his Majesty's accession, with an evident concurrence of the country. The policy of the cabinet takes the opposite direction, and the people follow it. The very language which I now hold, which thirty years ago would have been received with applause both by court and people, at this day, for aught I know, may expose me to the fury of the populace, and to have my house pulled down, as if I had declared myself an enemy to church and king. In the actual temper and habits of the country, I see nothing like an appropriated system. We stick to nothing. We are not properly a nation of merchants, nor of farmers, nor of manufacturers, nor of soldiers. A gentleman said yesterday, we were a nation of stock-jobbers. I say, we are a nation of 3 *per cents*, and nothing else*."

Sir PHILIP here speaks of the state of parties, when he *first had an opportunity to observe upon public transactions and national dispositions,—thirty*

* Mr. FRANCIS's speech, March 1, 1792. Vide Parliamentary Debates, vol 31.

years before—that is to say, *about the time of the present king's accession to the throne*—the very time when the political education of JUNIUS seems to have begun; and he delivers himself with the confidence of one, who had made excellent use of the opportunities he then possessed. But this, perhaps, in the estimation of some persons, may not sufficiently mark that actual course of study of the past, and close investigation of the present, which must have been united to form the character attributed to JUNIUS. On this point also there is evidence of competency sufficient to satisfy the reader. The education of Sir PHILIP was superintended by his father, whose talents and principles, it has been already shewn, were somewhat of the cast of those of JUNIUS He was a man skilled in political controversy, deeply read in ancient history, and who had mingled not a little with those of the great world, to whom the secret causes of many events, both interesting and important, were at the time undoubtedly laid open. In the quality of an instructor—*communi ductus officio et quodam amore operis*—much might be expected from a man possessing these advantages; but when that instructor was also the father, his advice, experience, and example, would weigh much heavier. It is curious to see how these opportunities were improved by the inclination of the son. On this head, our authority is again unex-

ceptionable, for Sir PHILIP FRANCIS thus describes the care which had been taken, in his earlier years, to implant in his mind the seeds of wisdom.

"Ever since I have been concerned in the transaction of public affairs, or indeed of any other, it has been my *endeavour* and *practice*, taught me *perhaps by instruction, and certainly confirmed by habit, to turn every thing I read, or hear, or see, or observe, in the transactions of life, whether it passes before me, or whether I find it recorded in history, some way or other to my own account*, that is, *to the improvement of my judgment, or to the direction of my conduct**."

To this practice JUNIUS must have had recourse, to collect that fund of information which he so evidently possessed. His precision in stating the minute particulars of many transactions, and his scrupulous regard to dates, declare his information to have been recorded while it was yet fresh in his memory. This is observable in his account of recent events. "Mark these dates, my Lord, for you shall not escape me†." He resembles Sir P. FRANCIS also in his use of history, and in the way that he applies past occurrences to the illustration of things present, or to the prediction of the future. Examples may be gathered

* Parliamentary Debates, xxxv. p. 639.

† JUNIUS, iii. p. 121, signature LUCIUS.

from every page of his writings, and the principle is applied in the following quotation, which may be taken as a commentary on Sir PHILIP's declaration. "Events, and characters of a similar nature, recur so often within the compass of a few centuries, that *history* is in effect little more than a *repetition*. The scenes and names of the performers are changed, but the fable is the same. I was led to this observation by a passage I lately met with in a modern French author*." He then relates an anecdote of Valentinian the Third, in order to convey a description of the Princess Dowager and the King.

Sir PHILIP FRANCIS having had so strong an inclination, at the commencement of his career in life, to lay hold of every opportunity of improving himself, and in all that passed around him, having been as inquisitive after motives and causes, as diligent in tracing their effects,—might he not thus lay up such a store of practical wisdom, as at an early age would give him the privilege, "without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world?" That the confidence which such an impression would give him in his own decisions, might prove, in one respect, a disadvantage, I can readily allow. Gray hairs will add a sanction to the maxims of a man which is seldom disregarded or disputed. The knowledge

* JUNIUS, iii p. 408, signature, AN INNOCENT READER.

which is obtained in the course of a very long life, is, of all kinds, that to which we are most willing to allow authority. It wounds not our self-love, because it claims no distinction to which we at present make pretensions: and all men secretly flatter themselves, that when an equal number of years shall have given them this ordinary passport to regard, the deference they now pay will be abundantly recompensed. But when a young man lays claim to wisdom which his equals are not supposed to possess, he must expect to meet with mortification and opposition. Those truths, which from old age would be received as oracles, shall, in this instance, be heard with indifference or contempt. Vanity will be said to prompt his most profound reflections; since if they sprung from a careful observation of mankind, they would convey a charge against others of oversight or inability. Let the contemporaries of Sir P. Francis say, whether he has not frequently been placed in this unpleasant predicament. In India, his penetration, and the freedom of his remarks, made him many enemies; and in later years his tone has been so little altered —he had so few things to unsay, and so many times was justified in appealing to his former sentiments,—that the prejudice continued to exist long after its unworthy cause had ceased. Under this influence, many of his competitors have invariably shut their ears to his representations, till the

measures he has recommended could no longer be refused adoption, and then they have carried them silently into effect.

I appeal to facts, and to the writings of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, for a confirmation of the character here drawn of him;—a character peculiarly calculated to support the imposing attitude of JUNIUS, and requiring some such dress as that of the venerable patriot to render its dictates sufficiently impressive. As JUNIUS, the man and the mind are of a piece. It is a singular exhibition of the fire of youth, united with the gravity of a matured intellect. From his gaiety and gallantry, the heat and indiscretion he *betrayed*, it is far more likely he was in the prime of life, than that he was old, because of the severity and dignified deportment which it was obviously his interest to *assume*. Besides, it outrages nature less, when a young man adopts the character of age, than when age affects the licentious language of impassioned youth. Yet one of these descriptions must attach to JUNIUS, for he exhibits himself in each extreme. The only fair conclusion seems to be this, that he was midway between the two characters; that is, about the age of Sir P. FRANCIS, at the time when the Letters first appeared.

In one point of view it may be esteemed unfortunate that they were ever written. The im-

probability that the author could remain concealed or unsuspected, were he frequently to appear before the public, would compel him either to shun writing altogether, or to continue to publish anonymously; and this necessity has, I fear, stood in the way of more good, than it has been the means of effecting, even with JUNIUS cast into the scale. This, I am aware, is a very questionable notion. But might not all the great political truths maintained by JUNIUS have been placed in as strong a light, and have been equally well supported, without danger to the person of the writer? The risk proceeded from his severe castigation of men in power, which, though it might attract attention to his doctrines, did but little in support of them. They are founded on a better basis than the passions, or the good resulting to posterity, from the labours of JUNIUS, will be much less than the author predicted. He says in his dedication, "When kings and ministers are forgotten, *when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood*, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain *principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity**." If this shall be the fate of the Letters, when they have lost the sharpness which gave them at first so high a relish—if, deprived of their *per-*

* JUNIUS, i. p. 1, Dedication.

sonal satire, even JUNIUS admits they will be permanently beneficial;—what is this but to affirm that, had they never possessed it, they would still have done essential service to the country. Besides, it is not designed that every sarcasm, much less the censures often justly cast on men in power, should have been suppressed;—much, indeed, might have been done in this way without endangering the writer's welfare: and, independent of all other considerations, the *grace of the fashion* of these Letters, would have secured them respect and admiration. With his high qualifications, had every available means been employed, short of rendering it *absolutely necessary* that the writer should be concealed for the remainder of life, greater advantage, I think, might have accrued, both to the nation and to the man. He would not have been deterred from undertaking some larger work;—his powers would not have been cramped by his bending them, for the sake of greater security, in a direction foreign to their natural expression;—and had his conduct been uniformly agreeable to the tenets he avowed, *the cause* in which he engaged would have been doubly benefited.

I know not whether these or other reasons have weighed with Sir PHILIP FRANCIS; but it is with much concern I see so few publications with his name affixed to them. It is certain that he has been a very frequent anonymous writer in

pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines; but the regret is a national one, that in no larger work, if we except JUNIUS, has he left to his country the fruits of his uncommonly extensive reading, his profound research into the history and constitution of this kingdom, and long and intimate acquaintance with the leading events of his own particular time.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN this subject was formerly discussed, I stated my belief that Sir P. FRANCIS did not leave England until the spring of 1774. Of his proceedings from the time that he quitted the War-office, until his departure for Bengal, we had no account, till the preceding biographical sketch informed us that "*the greatest part of the year* 1772, *he spent in travelling through Flanders,*" &c.

The first sight of this passage was not a little startling, when it was recollected that the Letters of JUNIUS did not cease altogether until 1773. It seemed impossible that the writer could at any time have been absent from England for the greater part of a year. His labour was so incessant that it denied him even the opportunity of quitting London, except for a few days. In one respect this new information was truly gratifying; it brought all my pretensions to a test which, if it did not establish, must destroy their validity. The incompatibility of the fact with the writing of any one letter, would be of itself sufficient to overthrow the whole hypothesis. On the other hand, if the supposition

that all the Letters of JUNIUS were written by Sir PHILIP was, in every instance, reconcileable with the foregoing statement of his absence, it would then be a remarkable presumption in favour of the charge.

When the reader examines the dates of Sir PHILIP's departure and return, and the dates of the Letters, he will see that the occurrence not only admits of adjustment with the Letters of JUNIUS, but that it *dove-tails* into a vacant part of the correspondence with the minutest exactness.

Let us first compare the whole time of Sir PHILIP's absence, with the dates of JUNIUS's Letters. "*The greatest part of the year* 1772, he spent in travelling through Flanders," &c. Now the last Letter which JUNIUS wrote, in *that year*, is dated May 12; it was sent to Woodfall two days previous to its publication; consequently, *May* 10 is the latest period in the year 1772, at which we are able to find any trace of the author. It need not be observed how well this date allows of the absence of the writer, during "*the greatest part* of the year 1772."

But perhaps it may be imagined, that Sir PHILIP left England earlier than accords with the production of those Letters, which were written by JUNIUS in May 1772. To ascertain what is due to this supposition, the reader is requested to observe, that in the Miscellaneous Letters signed

VETERAN, the removal of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS from his official situation is announced on the 23d of March, 1772. It was after *this* period*, therefore, that he went abroad; and some time longer would of course be taken up, in making preparations for his journey; or perhaps in visiting his friends in the country, particularly his father, who was then, in a declining state of health, at Bath. This supposition receives countenance from the fact, that JUNIUS was silent from the time he informed us of the expulsion of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, until the 4th of May, and on the 12th of that month he says that he has "just returned from a visit in a certain part in Berkshire*."

Whether these endeavours to account for the period which intervened, from the time Sir PHILIP quitted the War-office, to the date of JUNIUS's last Letter in the year 1772, be admitted to have weight or not, this is at least certain, that all regular intercourse between JUNIUS and the public *ceased from the moment that* Sir PHILIP *lost his place;* and thus a sympathy is established between them, which renders it of less consequence whether the short space of *six weeks*, which we have no authority for filling up, was occupied in the way that has been stated.

* The Public Advertiser of April 6, 1772, states, that "Matthew Lewis, Esq. is appointed First Clerk of the War-office."

† JUNIUS, iii. p. 451, signature NEMESIS.

But if we cannot tell what course Sir PHILIP took, for a few weeks after he lost his place, we can prove that the habits of JUNIUS met also with interruption, immediately after the appearance of that public Letter which announced the expulsion of Sir P. FRANCIS. Wherever JUNIUS was after that time, his own Letter to Woodfall, on May 4, 1772, tells us, that he was then unable to keep up the connection that had formerly subsisted between them. He desires the printer to regain possession of, and keep for a more favourable opportunity, the Letter or parcel which his signal declared had been sent to the usual place. "If *pars pro toto* be meant for me, I must beg the favour of you to recal it. At present it would be *difficult for me to receive it.* When the books are ready a Latin verse will be sufficient*." This favourable opportunity did not arrive *in the course of that year.* I am correct therefore in assuming, that *as early as March* 23, and from thence to the end of the year 1772, the situation of JUNIUS had so much altered, that it was no longer convenient for him to maintain his accustomed correspondence.

The next Letter of JUNIUS is dated January 19, 1773, which corresponds with the time of Sir PHILIP's re-appearance in this country, according to the following passage: "In about *half a year*

* JUNIUS, i. p. *254, Private Letter to Woodfall.

after his return to England, Lord Barrington most honourably and generously recommended him to Lord North, by whom his name was inserted in an act of Parliament, passed in *June*, 1773." Considering the loose mention of *about half a year* as coming pretty near the truth, we are here presented, in the return of Sir PHILIP, with another strong symptom of identity; for it must be allowed, that the coincidence between the absence of Sir PHILIP, and the disappearance of JUNIUS, is rendered still more remarkable by the fact, that the next communication of the latter took place at the time when the former had arrived in England.

The extreme scope of time occupied by the Letters of JUNIUS, with the exception of the last to Woodfall, is from the 28th of April, 1767, to the 10th of May, 1772. During the whole of this period of five years, he kept up, with his printer, a correspondence so "frequent and full," as to prove the greatest stumbling block to every conjecture that has hitherto been formed of the author. The table given in the Preliminary Essay, prefixed to the last edition, shews that "in the course of 1769, the author maintained not less than fifty-four communications with Mr. Woodfall; that not a single month passed without one or more acts of intercourse; that some of them had not less than seven, and many of them not less than

six,—at times directed to events that had occurred only a few days antecedently; that the two most distant communications were not more than three weeks apart; that several of them were daily, and the greater number of them not more than a week from each other." Yet however difficult, or impossible it is, to reconcile all this with the claims that have been made on the part of others, it exhibits nothing more than might have been accomplished by any person possessing the talents, industry, and *opportunities*, of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. From the year 1763, he tells us himself, that he held a "station of great trust in the War-office." It was a place requiring constant attendance, and therefore peculiarly favourable to that continual correspondence with the printer, in which JUNIUS was engaged. He filled this post, as it appears by JUNIUS, until March 1772, which comprises the entire period occupied by the Letters, with the exception of the three which were published in the May following, and the private note addressed to Woodfall in January, 1773. In the beginning of June that year, he was appointed a member of the supreme council at Bengal*; and in the spring of 1774 he sailed for India, from whence he did not return to England until 1781.

* From the Public Advertiser of Nov. 19, 1773.—On Wednesday, PHILIP FRANCIS, Esq., one of the Council of Bengal, had the honour of being presented to his Majesty, and was graciously received."

From the preceding facts a satisfactory solution may be obtained for two very natural queries: 1st, Why did not JUNIUS reply sooner, since he replied at all, to Woodfall's *signals for his old friend and correspondent?* It would now appear that he was abroad; but as soon as he returned to England, he informed Woodfall that he had seen the signals, stating very truly, "*I have had good reason* for not complying with them."—2dly, Why did not JUNIUS "*continue to labour in the vineyard,*" as he hinted he would do at the suggestion of Wilkes, when the latter recommended, through Woodfall, the *East India Company* as a proper subject for attack? Nothing could be more inopportunely proposed, than such a subject, to a man who, in consequence of the new arrangements, was at that time nominated a member of the council for the government of India.

But though Sir PHILIP accepted this appointment, he did not neglect the recommendation which Wilkes had given JUNIUS, to correct the abuses in the Company's affairs. His unremitting exertions, in India, were productive of great benefit to the cause of freedom and humanity. By means of his influence in the government, he, in a few years, did more to assist and relieve his injured fellow creatures, than the pen of JUNIUS could have effected, had his whole life, as well as talents, been devoted to that purpose. The efforts of Sir PHILIP were

indeed attended with danger, and positive detriment to himself; but this is only another proof of that "high independent spirit, honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless in maintaining them," which is mentioned by the author of the Preliminary Essay, as one of the distinguishing attributes of JUNIUS.

The last of the Letters of JUNIUS, dated January 19, 1773, is as follows.—

"I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.

"*You* have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.

"If you have any thing to communicate (of moment to yourself) you may use the last address, and give a hint."

To this the editor adds the following note. "This Letter was thus noticed in the answer to

correspondents in the Public Advertiser, March 8, 1773. 'The letter from an old Friend and Correspondent, dated Jan. 19, came safe to hand, and his directions are strictly followed. *Quod si quis existimat, &c.*"

Many conjectures might be raised to explain why the Letter of the 19th of January was not acknowledged till the 7th of March—but it is a point too trivial to justify an extended discussion.—On January 19, Woodfall inserted the following notice, as a hint to his old Friend and Correspondent: "*Iterumque, iterumque, monebo.*"—The same words had been employed on January 2, and prior to that, two other Latin phrases appear in the Public Advertiser, no doubt for a similar purpose. JUNIUS replied that he had seen the signals, and his Letter carries the date of the day on which the last of them occurs. It is possible, however, that Woodfall did not receive this letter till nearer the time of his reply. It may have been antedated purposely to answer these signals: and, accordingly, we cannot infer with certainty that JUNIUS was in London, or even in England, on the day when it was written. But though we cannot positively ascertain whether it was delivered to Woodfall agreeably to the date, we have still less reason to presume it was delayed, for, in Woodfall's answer, we discover one cause why the acknowledgment was not sooner made. His words

are, " Sir, I have troubled you with the perusal of two letters, as that of the prior date accounts for the delay of not sending the books sooner; and this acquaints you that I did not get them out of the book-binder's hands *till yesterday,*" &c.: Here we perceive, that if Woodfall had duly received the Letter, he could scarcely have returned an earlier notice, for he could make no more apologies for not sending the books; and, indeed, JUNIUS seems to have resigned all expectations of obtaining them; for he omits mentioning them in his Letter, and only says, " If you have any thing to communicate (*of moment to* YOURSELF) you may use the last address, and give a hint."—The three other signals which followed that of March 7, viz. March 20, *Aut voluntate esse mutatâ;*—March 29, *Aut debilitate virtute;* and April 7, *Dic quibus in terris,* as they may possibly be intended only to catch the eye of JUNIUS, and remind him of the pacquet which was lying at the coffee-house, are deemed unfit to be taken as the basis of any other speculation.

On the whole, we may consider it established, 1st, That the latest period to which JUNIUS carried on that regular correspondence with his printer, which marks his constant residence in town, was March 23, 1772. 2dly, That the time of its

* JUNIUS, i. *256.

positive renewal, and his consequent return, was January 1773. In the interval he wrote three public Letters, accompanied with private notes, dated the 3d, 4th, and 10th of May, 1772; from which nothing can be inferred, with certainty, as to his actual situation. To compare with the above dates we have the undoubted facts, 1st, That Sir PHILIP FRANCIS left the War-office on March 23, 1772, and went abroad before Midsummer. 2dly, That he returned to England at the beginning of 1773.—The exact accordance of the first date, renders the other almost equally conclusive.

CHAPTER V.

ONE method of discovering the rank and station of JUNIUS, is to see with whose names he is most familiar. The common maxim, *noscitur à sociis*, is, perhaps, as true in this respect, as in morals. Men with whom we daily mix, or who are almost constantly before our eyes, are very soon examined too minutely to be much reverenced; familiar and jocose appellations begin to be applied to them; and we are insensible, though nothing is plainer to others, how naturally, whenever we mention such persons, we prove our acquaintance with them by taking these liberties.

A difference, however, must be made between the liberties that are universally taken, and those particular instances which are necessary for our present purpose. It is the fate of all greatness to experience something of the former—

> ——— "Then shall our names,
> Familiar in their mouths as household words,
> *Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,*
> *Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,*
> Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered.

But for our present object we want such examples

as are not the natural consequence of an absolutely high station, or very general notoriety: our end is to be gained only by finding such ludicrous titles employed, as are by no means common among the people. If JUNIUS abounds with epithets of this description, given to men who were undistinguished by popular, or indeed by party ridicule, owing to their unimportance in the battalion of the state, it must be ascribed to some peculiarity of a private kind; doubtless to their immediate proximity to the writer, which gave them in his eyes alone an accidental consequence.

The only persons to whom JUNIUS applies epithets of familiarity, which by the foregoing rule would prove the nearness of his connection with them, are Welbore Ellis, Esq. Lord Barrington, Messrs. Rigby, Whateley, Bradshaw, and Chamier.

It is not intended to press the reader to any conclusion drawn from the first three names upon this list. They belonged to those who were conspicuous enough, in their day, to claim the notice of a very extensive circle.* But Whateley, and Bradshaw, and Chamier, were men ~~comparatively~~

* The same may be said of Lord Shelburne; otherwise the name of *Malagrida* would be familiar to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, from the noise which that Jesuit made in Portugal at *the time the English Embassy was there.* He was burnt at the stake in the *auto da fé,* at Lisbon, on the 20th of September, 1761.

of so little importance to the country, that to attract, in the way they did, the attention and resentment of JUNIUS, their conduct must have fallen continually under his observation.

Mr. Whateley had been private secretary to Mr. George Grenville: his situation, at the time when JUNIUS speaks of him, may be gathered from the following extracts.

"*This poor man*, with the *talents* of an attorney, sets up for an ambassador, and with the *agility* of Colonel Bodens, undertakes to be a courier. Indeed, *Tom!* you have betrayed yourself too soon. Mr. Grenville, your friend, your patron, your benefactor, who raised you from a depth, (compared to which even *Bradshaw's family* stands on an eminence,) was hardly cold in his grave, when you solicited the office of go-between to Lord North. You could not, in my eyes, be more contemptible, though you were convicted (as I dare say you might be,) of having constantly betrayed him in his life-time. Since I know your employment, be assured *I shall watch you attentively*. Every *journey you undertake*, every *message you carry*, shall be immediately laid before the public. The event of your ingenious management will be this,—that Lord North, finding you cannot serve him, will give you nothing. From the other party, you have just as much detestation to expect as can be

united with the profoundest contempt. *Tom Whateley*, take care of yourself*!"

JUNIUS again speaks of him in a Letter to Lord Suffolk. "Had you, like *poor Whateley*, been reduced from a state of independence, to the humiliating necessity of soliciting your support from administration, our reproach would be only turned against those who creditably took advantage of such a situation, and gratified themselves with the purchase of an honest man's reputation; and though we congratulated them on the acquisition which they had prudently secured, we should sincerely pity the object of their triumph†."

In these quotations, Whateley is not only mentioned in that familiar manner which shews the writer's acquaintance with him, but even his personal and mental qualifications are described,—his family is alluded to—the favours he received from Mr. Grenville, and those he hoped to merit from Lord North—every journey he should undertake, and every message he might carry, are all spoken of as circumstances inevitably coming within the range of the writer's knowledge.

Comparing these indications of personal acquaintance with the opportunities afforded Sir P. FRANCIS, we find that Mr. George Grenville was

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 310. No signature.

† ———, iii. p. 398, signature, HENRICUS.

one of the Secretaries of State at the time Sir PHILIP FRANCIS held that place in the Secretary of State's office, which had been given him by Lord Holland; and Mr. Whateley was then Mr. Grenville's private secretary. This contiguity of station would afford Sir PHILIP frequent opportunities of acquiring all that intimate and ocular knowledge of Mr. Whateley which is evinced by JUNIUS.

Mr. Bradshaw, we are told by JUNIUS himself, was "*originally a clerk to a contractor for forage,* and *was afterwards exalted to a petty post in the War-office**." At the time the Letters of JUNIUS were written, Bradshaw was the Duke of Grafton's private secretary, and Secretary to the Treasury. In May, 1772, he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty.

This person, who is invariably ridiculed and censured by JUNIUS, is frequently addressed by the familiar name of *Tommy Bradshaw;* we hear also of his sister "*Miss Polly* Bradshaw, who, like the moon, lives upon the light of her brother's countenance, and robs him of no small part of his lustre†." His portrait and character are given us in the "*cream-coloured Mercury*‡," and the "*cream-coloured Parasite*§." When a statement is made

* JUNIUS, ii. p. 99, note by JUNIUS.

† ———, iii. p. 406.

‡ ———, iii. p. 424, signature VETERAN.

§ ———, ii. p. 333, signature JUNIUS.

of the amount of his pension, and in what manner it was secured, it is also hinted for what unworthy services it was given him. In an accusation which JUNIUS prefers against him, for having been concerned in selling the place of Surveyor of the Pines in America, he tells him, "I have *not written from conjecture*, nor can you be ignorant that I have drawn my intelligence from its *first source*, and not the common falsities of the day*." On Bradshaw's being appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, the particulars of his *origin* and *career* are detailed to the public, with the minuteness of a close and perpetual inspection †.

In this, as in the preceding instance, the circumstances and connections of Sir P. FRANCIS will be found to agree precisely with those which are attributable to JUNIUS.—The *petty clerk* in the *War-office*, retained his influence there when Secretary to the Treasury. According to JUNIUS‡, he even expected to be made Secretary at War. But the following paragraph, taken from the Public Advertiser of January 10, 1772, and evidently written by JUNIUS himself, throws still more light on the extraordinary interest possessed by Bradshaw, in that department of the public service where Sir PHILIP was employed. It proves that

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 273, signature, Q. IN THE CORNER.

† ———, iii, p. 449, signature, ARTHUR TELL-TRUTH.

‡ ———, iii. 438, signature, VETERAN.

the advancement of the latter was obstructed by Bradshaw in person, exactly at the time when JUNIUS commenced his most vigorous attacks on him. "We are informed that Mr. D'Oyley has resigned his post of Under Secretary at War. The resignation of an office is an event so uncommon in these times, that it is worthy of some explanation. When the junto of clerks was formed by Mr. Jenkinson, to transact the business of this country under Lord Bute, Mr. D'Oyley was not considered as one of them; he has never been admitted as one, and consequently has never had given him pension or reversion, or any of those douceurs which every one of those gentry now enjoy. He never had the confidential communication of the office, nor even the common official interest in it. The secretary's place being therefore a mere clerkship of four hundred pounds a year, could neither in advantage nor honour be worth holding, to a man in the station and circumstances of a gentleman. Till a proper person belonging to the junto can be spared, the *cream-coloured cherub Bradshaw, who is clerk general and friend at large, is to be stationed in the War-office.*" When we imagine with what feelings Sir PHILIP would regard an interloper, who prevented him from taking the place to which he was entitled by seniority, we cannot be surprised at the antipathy displayed towards Bradshaw in the concluding Letters of JUNIUS.

But we now come to particulars, by which the writer's rank and station are shewn more plainly than even by familiar appellations: and we shall find that, after pointing out the persons by whom he is surrounded, he at last reveals HIMSELF.

JUNIUS in his private correspondence with Woodfall, is enraged at Lord Barrington for having "appointed a French broker his deputy, *for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw**." This person was Mr. Chamier, the immediate rival of Sir PHILIP in the War-office, and the person for whom Bradshaw was *locum tenens* in the vacancy made by D'Oyley. We first hear of him sneeringly, as "that *well educated genteel young broker, Mr. Chamier*†." This was immediately after his appointment as private secretary to the Earl of Sandwich, who at that time was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Chamier was afterwards made chief secretary to Lord Barrington, through the interest of his *brother-in-law Bradshaw*, and the Duke of Grafton‡: and on January 25, 1772, as we learn from JUNIUS, Lord Barrington made him his *deputy Secretary at War*§.

From that moment JUNIUS endeavoured to displace Chamier, by making Lord Barrington ashamed of his deputy. For this purpose he com-

* JUNIUS, i. p. *247.

† ———, iii. p. 306, signature, DOMITIAN.

‡ ———, iii, p. 306, signature, DOMITIAN.

§ ———, i. p. 250, private Letter to Woodfall.

menced, three days afterwards, a *series of Letters* to his lordship, wherein his favourite is styled *Tony Shammy,—little Shammy,—a tight active little fellow,—a little gambling broker,—little Waddle-well,—my duckling,—little 3 per cents reduced,—a mere scrip of a secretary,—an omnium of all that's genteel,—a wonderful Girgishite*†, &c. &c. Through four Letters, out of *sixteen* which he promised, sarcasm, argument, and threats, all the topics that could dissuade, provoke, or terrify, were employed to remove Chamier. But all these efforts were in vain. The deputy retained his situation; and the remonstrances of JUNIUS, so far from producing the effect he intended, were injurious to those whom he desired to befriend, for, as he tells us himself, "The worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the War-office" to make room for Chamier, "at last contrived to expel Mr. FRANCIS*."

At the very time these appeals were made against Chamier, no person could be more obnoxious than he was to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. They were *personally* opposed to each other; and the result shews that Sir PHILIP found himself unable to stand against his antagonist, who not only possessed the qualifications necessary for advancing his own interest, but was backed with the influ-

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 425, signature, VETERAN.

† ———, iii. p. 444, signature, VETERAN.

ence of his brother-in-law, Bradshaw. To the office of deputy Secretary at War, Sir PHILIP, by long service, might justly conceive himself entitled: but when D'Oyley was removed to make way for Chamier, and the private secretary of Lord Barrington was his competitor for the place, he might reasonably fear the consequences. To detach Lord Barrington from Chamier, by alarming his pride, in the ridicule he cast upon his deputy; or to deter him from persisting in his choice, by the dread of the anger of the *public*, the *army*, and the *King**! however *out of character with all other persons*, was natural enough in the case of Sir PHILIP. I cannot but think therefore that the Letters which JUNIUS wrote on this subject were the Letters of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. No other person had cause to feel so keenly—no other man had so much ground for that extreme anxiety, vehemence, and indignation, which JUNIUS manifested upon this occasion.

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 434, signature, VETERAN.

CHAPTER VI.

THE name of Lord Barrington is so often introduced in this part of the subject, that he slides into observation almost before his time. In the course of the LETTERS he obtains his full share of criticism and reprobation. The part he took during the riot in St. George's Fields, the easy manner in which he conformed to different administrations, and the indelicate eagerness with which he caught at any place, provided it was lucrative, were traits in his character for which he was highly censured by JUNIUS. But these public acts are not in the present case under consideration. It is the private pique against his Lordship, taken by JUNIUS at the appointment of Chamier, to which the attention of the reader is now solicited.

Woodfall is privately informed, that "the appointment of *this broker* gives universal disgust. That **********† would never have taken a step *apparently so absurd*, if there were not some wicked design in it more than we are aware of. *At any rate, the broker should be run down.* This, at least, is due to his master."*

† Lord Barrington.

* JUNIUS, i. p. 250. Private letter to Woodfall.

He attempts accordingly to run the broker down; and if wit, humour, and invective, could have accomplished it, the event would have been answerable to the wishes of the writer. Nor was the *master* forgotten. I shall only make a few extracts from these Letters to Lord Barrington, giving this general idea of their contents, that all the attacks to which his Lordship had been previously subjected, were mild in comparison with those which he experienced through the medium of this correspondence.

The connection between JUNIUS and the WAR-OFFICE is placed beyond all doubt, by the subject, aim, and temper of these Letters. His statement of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from the government of Virginia,—of the arrest and rescue of General Gansel, who was "not upon duty, nor even in his regimentals,"—of General Burgoyne's preferment,—of the difference between the Horse Guards and the marching regiments,—of Sir William Draper's appointment to his regiment out of his turn, with the terms on which he sold it,—of the secret and incomplete promotion of Colonel Luttrell, to which "very few forms concurred *except private commissions*,"—and of the conduct of Lord Granby, the Commander in Chief,—in all of which he displays a peculiar acquaintance with the details of army accounts, and the minor regulations of the service,—howeve

they may justify a *suspicion* that the writer occupied some post at the Horse Guards, were of too general a character to afford conviction. But in the Letters at the end of the third volume, it seems as if he was almost indifferent to discovery, he so clearly betrays his *personal acquaintance* with the proceedings of the Secretary at War.

The first Letter on the subject of Chamier's appointment, begins as follows:

"My Lord, It is unlucky for the army that you should be so thoroughly convinced as you are, how extremely low you stand in their opinion. The consciousness that you are despised and detested by every individual in it, from the drummer (whose discipline might be of service to you) to the general officer, makes you desperate about your conduct and character. You think that you are arrived at a state of security, and that, being plunged to the very heels in infamy, the dipping has made you invulnerable. *There is no other way to account for your late frantic resolution of appointing Tony Shammy your deputy Secretary at War**."

If Lord Barrington is touched by this, JUNIUS *sees it.*

"In my last Letter I only meant to be jocular. An Essay so replete with good humour could not possibly give offence. You are no enemy to a

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 422, signature VETERAN.

jest, or at least you would be thought callous to reproach. You profess a most stoical indifference about the opinion of the world, and above all things make it your *boast that you can set the newspapers at defiance.* No man, indeed, has received a greater share of correction in this way, or profited less by it, than your Lordship. But *we know you better.* You have one defect less than you pretend to. You are *not insensible* of the scorn and hatred of the world, though you take no care to avoid it. When the bloody Barrington, that silken, fawning courtier at St. James's—that stern and insolent minister at the War-office, is pointed out to universal contempt and indignation, *you smile, indeed, but the last agonies of the hysteric passion are painted in your countenance. Your cheek betrays what passes within you, and your whole frame is in convulsions**." His conversations are described, the scene of which is uniformly the WAR-OFFICE†. Nor is the particular delineation of each look and action omitted: " *shrugs and smiles, bows* and *grimaces*, the *condescension* of St. James's and the *pliant politeness* of 'Change Alley‡," are all pourtrayed with a spirit and fidelity, which prove them to be drawn upon the spot.

Sir PHILIP was at this time a chief clerk in

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 431, signature, VETERAN.

† ——— iii. p. 437, signature, VETERAN.

‡ ——— iii. p. 442, signature, VETERAN.

the War-office, and therefore had the most favourable opportunities for describing these scenes. He was of necessity an eye-witness of many of the transactions. That he possessed the inclination, as well as the power, to take notice of them, there is little doubt. The promotion of Chamier had stopped his own. He had a right to conceive himself injured, when after nine years service, he saw himself suddenly supplanted by an inexperienced stranger. The circumstances narrated by JUNIUS might have been detailed by another; but the language, which is that of an injured man, can only befit Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The identity, however, is made apparent by still further proof. JUNIUS not only shews that he felt the violent indignation which was so natural to Sir PHILIP, and to him alone—that he felt it for the same *cause*, and expressed it for the same *end*;—"*for shame*, my Lord Barrington, *send this whiffling broker back* to the mystery he was bred in"—but he also evinces an uncommon interest in *favour* of the *opposite party*.

He speaks of Sir PHILIP, and his friend Mr. D'Oyley, in terms of *unqualified approbation*. His friendship is not less conspicuous than his enmity, nor less indicative of the writer: they are described as "*men who do their duty with credit and ability*," and therefore, "are not *proper instruments for Lord Barrington to work with*." He must have

a broker from 'Change Alley for his deputy, and some raw, ignorant boy *for his* FIRST CLERK. I think the public have a right to call upon Mr. D'Oyley and Mr. FRANCIS to declare their reasons for quitting the War-office. *Men of their unblemished characters* do not resign lucrative employments without some sufficient reasons. The conduct of these gentlemen *has always been approved of;* and I *know* that they stand as well in the esteem of *the army*, as any person in their station ever did."—"What signifies *ability, or integrity, or practice, or experience in business.* Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications are about him."—"Again, I wish that *Mr. Francis* and Mr. D'Oyley would give the public some account of what is going forward at the War-office. I think these events so remarkable, that some *notice ought to be taken of them in the House of Commons**." This last remark can hardly pass without exciting a smile, for who but the *aggrieved party* could have viewed this transaction in so magnified a light, as to deem it worthy of the attention of *Parliament*.

JUNIUS was not so accustomed to give praise, as to render an interference and a panegyric, like the present, a matter of no importance. The Editor of Woodfall's Edition distinguishes the Let-

* JUNIUS, iii. 446, signature, VETERAN.

ter to Lord Camden as possessing "the peculiarity of being the *only* encomiastic Letter that ever fell from his pen *under the signature of Junius**. If then his commendation was so rarely bestowed, what are we to think of the eulogy just quoted? It was passed upon two persons certainly not very conspicuous at that time, which renders the circumstance the more remarkable; and it is written with a feeling in their favour, *not any where to be paralleled in all the other writings of our author*. So justly, indeed, does it lay the writer open to the suspicion of being himself one of the persons whose cause he maintains, that I should regard it as conclusively fatal to the opinion I have formed, if JUNIUS had written these Letters under his proper signature. This rock he shunned. *All the Letters upon Chamier's appointment* were under the name of VETERAN; perhaps to insinuate that they proceeded from the pen of Lord George Germaine†. The following passage, taken from the first Letter of Veteran, strengthens this conjecture.

* JUNIUS, i. p. *49. Preliminary Essay.

† This nobleman has been suspected by many persons to be the author of JUNIUS; but exclusive of other cogent reasons to the contrary, he was so defective in literary attainments, as to be even incapable of writing good English. See a Letter of his inserted in the Second Edition of Woodfall's JUNIUS, 3 vols. See also Sir N. Wraxall's Character of his Lordship; and Cumberland's Eulogy on Viscount Sackville, inserted in Collins's Peerage, last edition, where this description is confirmed beyond all dispute.

"Let us suppose a case, which every man acquainted with the War-office will admit to be very probable. Suppose a *lieutenant-general, who perhaps may be a peer, or a member of the House of Commons*, does you the honour to wait upon you for instructions relative to his regiment*." Yet without this, sufficient pains were taken in the composition, to disunite the idea of JUNIUS from that of the author of these Letters; and in case inquiry should be privately made, Woodfall was expressly desired to *be careful not to have it known from whom* they came†. Under the signature of *Scotus*, a name which JUNIUS would not readily be suspected of adopting, Lord Barrington is again addressed, and the resentment of Sir P. FRANCIS at being expelled, is alluded to. "You have had some *lessons*, which have made you more cautious than you used to be. You have reason to remember, that *modest, humble merit* will not always bear to be insulted by an *upstart in office*‡." The "*Memoirs of Lord Barrington*" close the series, when Woodfall was again desired to *keep the author a secret*§: that is, to prevent all these Letters from being ascertained to proceed from the *pen of* JUNIUS; for he knew no other author.

* JUNIUS, iii. 425, signature, VETERAN.
† ——— i. *247, private letter to Woodfall.
‡ ——— iii. 448, signature, SCOTUS.
§ ——— i. *255, private letter to Woodfall.

This caution given to Woodfall, to conceal the name of the author, is very remarkable. It evinces a suspicion, that under the name of VETERAN the real writer might be guessed at. Yet this does not much concern him, it would seem; for in the course of those Letters, he had taken no great pains to conceal himself. His only fear is then, lest VETERAN *should be discovered to be* JUNIUS; and not lest VETERAN should be discovered to be FRANCIS. Perhaps Sir PHILIP had no objection to be suspected of pleading his own cause, though he might very properly apprehend the consequences of a more extensive developement. Nay it appears that he actually *was suspected;* for Lord Barrington was compared with his own *clerks,* by way of defence, in a Letter signed *Novalis;* which Letter was considered by JUNIUS as the composition of his Lordship; and in the very next communication we are informed by Veteran, that Lord Barrington had expelled Mr. FRANCIS*.

* It will satisfy the reader, that no false statement has been given of the whole of this transaction, whereon the proof of identity principally hinges, if we subjoin, entire, three of the Letters on which our evidence is founded.

TO LORD BARRINGTON.

"MY LORD, *January* 28, 1772.

"It is unlucky for the army that you should be so thoroughly convinced as you are how extremely low you stand in

The tone and substance of these Letters are in themselves worth a thousand arguments. With

their opinion. The consciousness that you are despised and detested by every individual in it, from the drummer (whose discipline might be of service to you) to the general officer, makes you desperate about your conduct and character. You think that you are arrived at a state of security, and that, being plunged to the very heels in infamy, the dipping has made you invulnerable. There is no other way to account for your late frantic resolution of appointing *Tony Shammy* your deputy Secretary at War. Yet I am far from meaning to impeach his character as a broker. In that line he was qualified to get forward by his industry, birth, education, and accomplishments. I make no sort of doubt of his cutting a mighty pretty figure at Jonathan's. To this hour among bulls and bears his name is mentioned with respect. Every Israelite in the alley is in raptures. *What, our old friend, little Shammy!—Ay, he was always a tight, active little fellow, and would wrangle for an eighth as if he had been born in Jerusalem. Who'd ha' thought it! Well, we may now look out for the rebuilding of the Temple.*—My lord, if I remember right, you are partial to the spawn of Jonathan's. Witness the care you took to provide for Mr. Delafontaine in the military department. He limped a little when he left the alley, but your lordship soon set him upon his legs again. This last resolution however approaches to madness. Your cream-coloured Mercury has over-reached both you and himself; and remember what I seriously tell you, this measure will, sooner or later, be the cause, not of your disgrace,—(that affair's settled) but of your ruin. What demon possessed you to place a little gambling broker at the head of the War-office, and in a post of so much rank and confidence, as that of deputy to the Secretary at War?—(I speak of your office, not of your person.)—Do you think that his having been useful in certain practices to Lord Sandwich, gives any great relief to his character, or raises him in point of rank? My lord, the rest of the world laugh at your choice; but we soldiers feel it as an indignity to the whole army, and be assured we shall resent it accordingly.—Not that I think you pay much regard to the sensations of any thing under the degree of a general officer, and even that rank you have

such express proof that JUNIUS, the writer of them, was in the highest degree exasperated at Lord Bar-

publicly stigmatised in the most opprobrious terms. Yet still some of them, though in your wise opinion not qualified to command, are entitled to respect. Let us suppose a case, which every man acquainted with the War-office will admit to be very probable. Suppose a lieutenant-general, who perhaps may be a peer, or a member of the House of Commons, does you the honour to wait upon you for instructions relative to his regiment. After explaining yourself to him with your usual accuracy and decision, you naturally refer him to your deputy for the detail of the business. *My dear general, I'm prodigiously hurried.—But do me the favour to go to Mr. Shammy;—go to little Waddlewell;—go to my duckling;—go to little three per cents reduced;—you'll find him a mere scrip of a secretary; an* OMNIUM *of all that's gentcel;—the activity of a broker;—the politeness of a hair-dresser;—the——the——the, &c.*

"Our general officer we may presume being curious to see this wonderful Girgishite, the following dialogue passes between them.

Lieut. Gen. Sir, the Secretary at War refers me to you for an account of what was done——

"*Waddlewell.* Done, Sir!—Closed at three-eighths!—Looked flat I must own;—but to-morrow, my dear Sir, I hope to see a more lively appearance.

"*Lieut. Gen.* Sir, I speak of the non-effective fund.

"*Waddlewell.* Fund, my dear Sir! In what fund would you wish to be concerned?—Speak freely—You may confide in your humble servant;—I'm all discretion.

"*Lieut. Gen.* Sir, I really don't understand you. Lord Barrington says that my regiment may possibly be thought of for India—

"*Waddlewell.* India, my dear Sir!—strange fluctuation:—from fourteen and an half to twenty-two, never stood a moment;—but ended cheerful;—no mortal can account for it.

"*Lieut. Gen.* Damn your stocks, Sir, tell me whether the commission——

"*Waddlewell.* As for commission, my dear Sir, I'll venture to say that no gentleman in the alley does business upon easier terms. I

rington for depriving Mr. FRANCIS of his situation, let us turn to the biography of Sir PHILIP FRAN-

never take less than an eighth, except from Lord Sandwich and my brother-in-law, but they deal largely, and you must be sensible, my dear Sir, that when the commission is extensive, it may be worth a broker's while to content himself with a sixteenth.

"The general officer, at last, fatigued with such extravagance, quits the room in disgust, and leaves the intoxicated broker to settle his accounts by himself.

"After such a scene as this, do you think that any man of rank or consequence in the army will ever apply to you or your deputy again?—Will any officer of rank condescend to receive orders from a little, whiffling broker, to whom he may formerly perhaps have given half-a-crown for negociating an hundred pound stock, or sixpence for a lottery ticket? My lord, without a jest, it is indecent, it is odious, it is preposterous. Our gracious master, it is said, reads the newspapers. If he does, he shall know minutely in what manner you treat his faithful army. This is the first of sixteen letters addressed to your lordship, which are ready for the press, and shall appear as fast as it suits the printer's convenience.

"VETERAN."

TO LORD BARRINGTON.

"MY LORD, *March* 10, 1772.

"I am at a loss for words to express my acknowledgment of the signal honour you have done me. One of the principal purposes of these addresses, was to engage you in a regular, public correspondence. You very justly thought it unnecessary to sign your name to this last, elegant performance. *Novalis* answers as well as Barrington. We know you by your style. This is not the first of your epistles, that has been submitted to the criticism of the public. While yet, like poor *Waddlewell*, you were young in office, your letters to General Fowke were considered as the standard of perspicuity.

CIS, and see whether any peculiar feeling of hostility was entertained by him on this occasion.

You are now *very old* in office, and continue to write exactly as you did in your infancy. I do not wonder that the extremes of your capacity should meet in the same point, but I shall be glad to know at what period you reckoned yourself in the prime and vigour of your official understanding.—Was it when you signified to the third regiment of guards his Majesty's gratitude and your own, for the alacrity in butchering their innocent fellow-subjects in St. George's Fields?—Was it when you informed the House of Commons, that *you* and the *doctor* were equivalent to a commander in chief?—Or when you declared that there was not a man in the army fit to be trusted with the command of it?—Or when you established that wise and humane regulation that no officer, let his age and infirmities be ever so great, and his services ever so distinguished, should be suffered to sell out, unless he had bought all his former commissions? Or in short was it when you dived into *Jonathan's* for a deputy, and plucked up *Waddlewell* by the locks? When you answer these questions, I shall be ready to meet your lordship upon that ground, on which you think you stand the firmest. In the mean time, give me leave to say a few words to *Novalis*.

"You are pleased to observe that my three first letters are filled with low scurrility upon hackneyed topics collected from the newspapers. Have a little patience, my dear lord; I shall soon come to closer quarters with you. As for those dialogues, which you are pleased to say have neither wit or humour in them, I can only observe that there are many scenes, which pass off tolerably well upon the stage, and yet will not bear the examination of the closet. You and *Waddlewell* are excellent performers. Between a courtier and a broker *words* are the smallest part of the conversation. Shrugs and smiles, bows and grimaces, the condescension of St. James's, and the pliant politeness of 'Change Alley, stand in the place of repartee, and fill up the scene.

"You intimate, without daring directly to assert, that *you did not* fix that odious stigma upon the body of general officers. Have you forgot the time when you attempted the same evasion in the

"In 1763, Sir PHILIP was appointed by the late Lord Mendip, then Welbore Ellis, Esq. and

House of Commons, and forced General Howard to rise and say he was ashamed of you? These mean, dirty, pitiful tricks are fitter for Jonathan's than the War-office.

"*You have more experience than any of your clerks, and your great abilities are acknowledged on all sides.*—As for your experience, we all know how much your conduct has been improved by it. But pray who informed you of this *universal acknowledgment* of your abilities? The sycophants, whose company you delight in, are likely enough to fill you with these flattering ideas. But if you were wise enough to consult the good opinion of the world, you would not be so eager to establish the credit of your understanding. The moment you arrive at the character of a man of sense you are undone. You must then relinquish the only tolerable excuse that can be made for your conduct. It is really unkind of you to distress the few friends you have left.

To your lordship's zeal to discover and patronise *latent* merit, the public is indebted for the services of Mr. Bradshaw. Pray, my lord, will you be so good as to explain to us, of what nature were those services, which he first rendered to your lordship? Was he winged like a messenger, or stationary like a centinel?

—"Like Maia's son he stood
And shook his plumes;"—

videlicet at the door of Lady ——n's cabinet. His zeal in the execution of this honourable office promoted him to another door, where he also stands centry,

—"Virgâque levem coercet
Aureâ turbam."

That he has ably served the state, may be collected from the public acknowledgments the ministry have made him. Fifteen hundred pounds a year, well secured to himself and his family, will acquit the king of any ingratitude to Mr. Bradshaw. It is by mere accident

Secretary at War to a considerable post in the War-office, which he resigned in the beginning of

that Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Jeffery Amherst are no better provided for.

"But we are indebted to your lordship for another discovery of merit equally latent with Mr. Bradshaw's. You have a phœnix of a deputy, though yet he is but young in his nest. He has hardly had time to clear his wings from the ashes that gave him birth. This too was your lordship's apology for ruining General Fowke. You gave it in evidence, that you had been but four months in office; and now you tell us that your deputy also is in the same unfledged state of noviciate;—though for abilities and knowledge of the world, neither *Jew* nor *Gentile* can come up to him! For shame, my Lord Barrington, send this whiffling broker back to the mystery he was bred in. Though an infant in the War-office, the man is too old to learn a new trade. At this very moment they are calling out for him at the bar of Jonathan's—Shammy!—Shammy!—Shammy!—The house of *Israel* are waiting to settle their last account with him. During his absence things may take a desperate turn in the alley, and you never may be able to make up to the man what he has lost in half-crowns and sixpences already.

"VETERAN."

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

"SIR, *March* 23, 1772.

"I desire you will inform the public that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the War-office, has at last contrived to expel Mr. FRANCIS. His lordship will never rest till he has cleared his office of every gentleman who can either be serviceable to the public, or whose honour and integrity are a check upon his own dark proceedings. Men, who do their duty with credit and ability, are not proper instruments for Lord Barrington to work with. He must have a broker from

1772, in consequence of *a difference with Viscount Barrington, by whom he thought himself injured. Possibly Lord B. thought so too, or that something was due to Mr. Francis, as will appear hereafter.*"

'Change Alley for his deputy, and some raw, ignorant boy for his first clerk. I think the public have a right to call upon Mr. D'Oyley and Mr. FRANCIS to declare their reasons for quitting the War-office. Men of their unblemished character do not resign lucrative employments without some sufficient reasons. The conduct of these gentlemen has always been approved of, and I know that they stand as well in the esteem of the army, as any persons in their station ever did. What then can be the cause that the public and the army should be deprived of their service? There must certainly be something about Lord Barrington which every honest man dreads and detests. Or is it that they cannot be brought to connive at his jobs and underhand dealings? They have too much honour, I suppose, to do some certain business by *commission*. They have not been educated in the conversation of Jews and gamblers;—they have had no experience at Jonathan's;—they know nothing of the stocks; and therefore Lord Barrington drives them out of the War-office. The army indeed is come to a fine pass, with a gambling broker at the head of it!—What signifies ability, or integrity, or practice, or experience in business. Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications are about him. He wants nothing in his office but ignorance, impudence, pertness and servility. Of these commodities he has laid in a plentiful stock, that ought to last him as long as he is Secretary at War. Again, I wish that Mr. FRANCIS and Mr. D'Oyley would give the public some account of what is going forward in the War-office. I think these events so remarkable that some notice ought to be taken of them in the House of Commons. When the public loses the service of two able and honest servants, it is but reasonable that the wretch, who drives such men out of a public office, should be compelled to give some account of himself and his proceedings.

"VETERAN."

Here there is a distinct avowal of a quarrel having taken place between Lord Barrington and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, which, for the same cause, and at the same time, subjected his Lordship to the resentment of JUNIUS. The displeasure of the latter was particularly called forth when the interests of Sir PHILIP were in danger: it increased, *pari passu*, as the conduct of his Lordship grew more and more adverse to Sir PHILIP's views; and it arrived at its highest pitch in the moment when all his hopes were finally sacrificed.

But the parallel does not end here. In the *same month* that Sir PHILIP was expelled, JUNIUS wrote a private Letter to his printer, intimating that his labours were at an end, and that he should thenceforth discontinue writing, unless some good occasion offered.

"Your letters with the books are come safe to hand. The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation, and necessity to which we must submit. Be assured I will not give you more trouble than is unavoidable. If the vellum books are not yet bound, I would wait for the index. If they are, let me know by a line in the Public Advertiser.—When they are ready, they may safely be left at the same place as last night.

"On *your* account I was alarmed at the price of the book. But of the sale of books I am no judge,

and can only pray for your success. What you say about the profits is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore; and *let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence. Without it, no man can be happy, nor even honest.*

"If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me.

"*Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat.* Farewell."

This Letter was certainly intended to close the correspondence. It is the last *regular* communication to Woodfall, previous to that of January 19, 1773. From the concluding sentence, "but if any one thinks my inclination changed, my courage weakened, or my spirits broken, he greatly errs;"— the writer seems desirous to defend his silence from unjust imputations, and to stand clear, in the estimation of Woodfall, of being influenced

* Junius, i. 253. Private Letter to Woodfall.

to desert the cause by unworthy motives. Nor was such a vindication unnecessary, for Woodfall possessed that knowledge of which the public were deprived: he knew that JUNIUS and VETERAN were the same person; and he, therefore, might justly suspect, that the fate of JUNIUS was involved in that of FRANCIS; that the loss of the opportunities which had belonged to the latter by virtue of his office at the Horse Guards, had caused the usefulness of the former, as a political watchman, to be fatally diminished. To me, I confess it appears singular, that with this key to the discovery of the author, curiosity did not prompt Woodfall at some time or other, to inquire whether Mr. FRANCIS was not aware of the name, and grateful for the exertions of his anonymous advocate. But it must be allowed, that a sense of duty might lay the late Mr. Woodfall under restraint; and that he, perhaps, felt his honour concerned not to take any steps himself, or by communicating his suspicion, cause them to be taken by others, so that the secret should be at length wrung from the reluctant author.

In the Letter last quoted, one passage occurs, which has been supposed to countenance the idea that JUNIUS was a man of independent fortune. In his refusal to receive a share of Woodfall's profits on JUNIUS, and his recommendation of a solid, however moderate independence, without which no

man can be happy, nor even honest, it is presumed, in the Preliminary Essay, that he gave a proof "as well of his *affluence* as of his generosity;" and that he "reasoned from the sphere of life in which he was accustomed to move*." But how could JUNIUS have accepted these paltry profits, without giving a death blow to the high estimation in which he had led his correspondent to hold him, both for his rank and power!

"What! shall one of th
That struck the *foremost man of all this world*
But for supporting robbers; shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes?
And sell the mighty space of our large honours
For so much trash as may be grasped thus?"

To argue as if it had been possible, is strangely at variance with the scope of an Essay, which professes to regard JUNIUS as a man of more than ordinary wealth and consequence. As for the remark on that part of the sentence wherein he affirms that no man can be happy nor even honest without independence, let us hope that the Essayist was equally mistaken in making this the great test of integrity in high life. Whatever may be the nature of our temptations, in the various classes of society, there appears no good reason for believing that those of fortune are irresistible only where

* JUNIUS, i. 33. Preliminary Essay.

the least necessity is felt. I cannot surrender my judgment to such reasoning.

But what reflection could be more obvious, what advice more natural, on the part of one placed in the circumstances of Mr. FRANCIS? He saw himself in the power of a nobleman, who was equally able and willing to make him feel its weight. He had at that time relinquished all his prospects, it would appear, rather than "connive," as JUNIUS himself says, "*at the jobs and underhand dealings* of his superiors*." And there wants no further reason to account for the pensive tenor of this private Letter, than the writer's presentiment of his approaching fate.

From this time, with the exception of that Letter to the Printer, in which the expulsion of Sir PHILIP is announced, JUNIUS was totally silent for two complete months. It was a long pause for a man who had been in the habit of writing four or five private and almost as many public Letters, every month, for the space of five years. When he again took up his pen, it was but for a moment. On May the 3d, the 4th, and the 10th, he wrote three notes to Woodfall: and three public Letters were printed, dated the 4th, the 8th, and the 12th of May; the first of which notices the quarrel at the War-office; the second contains an account of

* JUNIUS, iii. p. 445, signature, VETERAN.

Bradshaw's life; and the third, the Memoirs of Lord Barrington.* After this last period, JUNIUS gave up all correspondence, public as well as private, until January 19, 1773, when he sent Mr. Woodfall that final note, which has been already mentioned.

* From May, 1772, the Public Advertiser contains no more attacks on *Whateley*, *Bradshaw*, or *Chamier*; and even *Lord Barrington* is very seldom mentioned.

CHAPTER VII.

If we could suppose that the interests of Sir P. Francis were not identified with those of Junius, what motive can be found for the sudden and lasting silence of the latter? Admitting that he was a friend, angry at his *protegé's* dismissal from the War-office, is that a reason why he should for ever give up the "cause of the *public?*" Or if he was that staunch friend, that second self, is not Sir [redacted] aware of this kindness, and could he not disclose the name of his benefactor? But perhaps such a disclosure would be a breach of honour! He admits then that he was a party in the affair—that the Letters were written with his privity—in short, that he knows who Junius is, or was, though he cannot divulge the secret—*ab animo tuo quicquid agitur, id agitur a te.*—Such an admission is all we can expect from Sir Philip Francis. But what says Junius? "The *personal interests*, the *personal resentments*, betray the author as *plainly as if your name were in the title page**." With this additional voucher, therefore, for the truth of our conjecture, let us proceed in the investigation.

* Letter, July 29, 1769.

The circumstances in which Sir PHILIP was placed, by being dismissed the War-office, sufficiently explain why JUNIUS left off writing. As Mr. FRANCIS, he had two powerful reasons to forbear. His personal interest in the question was entirely at an end—and the source from which he acquired his information was no longer open to him. Yet when I allude to his personal interest, I mean not to affirm of such a man as JUNIUS, that he had throughout no higher views than the destruction of a war-secretary and his deputy. His leading object was of worthier origin. He honestly endeavoured to serve his country, and if in the judgment he had formed, the administration of Mr. George Grenville, or at a subsequent period that of Lord Chatham, was more likely to prove beneficial to the nation than that of the Duke of Grafton, (and who can doubt it?) he forfeits not a particle of his honesty, by attempting to bring in the one party at the expence of the other. That there was with this an under plot—that he might

"Have found the private in the public good,"

is a position I can no more disbelieve, than I can doubt the existence of the Letters.

In his first private Letter to Wilkes, JUNIUS acknowledges these personal views. "Though I do not," says he, "disclaim the idea of some *per-*

sonal views to future honour and advantage; (you would not believe me if I did) yet I can truly affirm, that neither are they little in themselves, *nor can they by any possible conjecture be collected from my writings**." This last assertion was perfectly true at the time it was made; and it still remains uncontradicted by any thing that has appeared under the *name* of JUNIUS. But of course the writer could not deny, because it was impossible he could foresee, that at a subsequent opportunity, and under *another signature,* a conjecture would be formed from his writings, of the nature of these views.

Again, in vindication of himself from the charge of being bought off by the ministry, he says--- "It is true, *I have refused offers which a more prudent, or a more interested man would have accepted.* Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, *that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction*†." This was written in April, 1769. At the meeting of Parliament in the January following, a great struggle was made to effect a change of ministers. On this occasion it is evident how much he was *personally interested.* A

* JUNIUS, i. p. 264. Private letter to Wilkes.

† ——— iii. p. 202, signature JUNIUS.

fortnight before the opening he wrote to Woodfall, "I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; *but if things take the turn I expect*, you shall know *me by my works**."

On the 29th of January the resignation of the Duke of Grafton took place, and *Lord North* was made prime minister: but this was not the turn that JUNIUS expected. He again persecutes the administration with as much vigour as before, though in consequence of the changes that had occurred, it appears he had greater fears than ever for his own safety. Yet once more his spirits revive, and he conceives it possible that his wishes may be accomplished. On March 17, after desiring Woodfall to do whatever he thinks best, to give publicity to the Letter he should send on the following day, he adds, "NOW IS THE CRISIS†." The Letter he alludes to, was written in vindication of the Remonstrance of the city of London, and was designed to encourage the intended Remonstrance of the city of Westminster. When this Letter was sent to Woodfall, the writer's hopes were at the highest point of elevation. He had heard that Lord Chatham meant to support the Remonstrance, and under that impression having at once laid aside his wonted caution, and all the prejudices he had entertained against that

* JUNIUS, i. *207. Private Letter to Woodfall.

† ——— i. *210. Private Letter to Woodfall.

nobleman, he directly avows himself to be of his party. His note to Woodfall is as follows: "Sunday, March 18, 1770.—This Letter is written wide, and I suppose will not fill two columns. *For God's sake let it appear to-morrow.* I hope you received my note of yesterday.

"*Lord Chatham is determined to go to the Hall to support the Westminster Remonstrance. I have no doubt that* WE *shall conquer them at last**."

But he was again disappointed. The ministry kept their places in consequence of the king's determination in their favour.—From this time he appears to have given up all serious thoughts of being able to displace them; and, with the motive, he dropped the *name* of JUNIUS.

His opinion of Lord Chatham seems to have often fluctuated. In his next note to Woodfall he says, "I neither admire the writer [of the Whig] nor his idol" [Lord Chatham]†. The fact, however, is easily explained. Lord Chatham in this paper, "The Whig," was "panegyrized in very warm terms" for his conduct with regard to the taxation of America. This, it is well known, was a subject on which JUNIUS always differed from him. As an admirer of Mr. George Grenville in the part he took on that occasion, it was

* JUNIUS, i *210. Private Letter to Woodfall.

† ——— i. *213. Private Letter to Woodfall.

impossible that JUNIUS could approve of Lord Chatham's conduct; yet this was the only subject whereon he latterly dissented from him: for about ten months after this time he says to Mr. Horne, "I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion; and surely it is not in the little censure of *Mr. Horne*, to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who I confess *has grown upon my esteem**. As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of JUNIUS would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will

* It is somewhat remarkable, that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS made use of this same expression in speaking of Mr. Horne himself several years after. Vide Erskine's Speeches Vol. iv. p. 135. Horne must certainly have "*grown in the esteem*" of JUNIUS, before he would speak in favour of his political conduct.

support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric. These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned*."

Still he declares he listens "without the smallest degree of conviction or assent, when Lord Chatham affirms, that the authority of the British legislature is not supreme over the colonies, in the same sense in which it is supreme over Great Britain†."

Let us turn now to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, and see what was his opinion of Lord Chatham. We need not look far, nor trouble ourselves with a long inference. It is recorded on more than one occasion, and in terms so express as to leave no doubt of its exact agreement with that of JUNIUS

"In the early part of my life," says Sir PHILIP, "I had the good fortune to hold a place very inconsiderable in itself, but immediately under the late Earl of Chatham. He descended from his station to take notice of mine; and he honoured me with repeated marks of his favour and protection. How warmly, in return, I was attached to his person, and how I have been grateful to his memory, they, who know me, know. *I admired him, as a great, illustrious,* FAULTY, *human being, whose*

* JUNIUS, ii. 310, signature, JUNIUS.

† JUNIUS, ii. 350, signature, JUNIUS.

character, like all the noblest works of human composition, should be determined by its EXCELLENCIES, *not by its defects.* I should not have mentioned these circumstances, though I confess I am proud of them, if they did not lead me naturally to the subject immediately in question. In the year 1760, Mr. Secretary Pitt recommended it to the late King to send the present Earl of Kinnoul ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon. The same recommendation engaged the noble Lord to appoint me his secretary*."

In a subsequent speech Sir PHILIP again mentions Lord Chatham as "*a person whose name he should never recollect without admiration and reverence*†."

When the late Mr. Pitt, by his India Bill, proposed to take the trial by jury out of the Indian system of judicature, Mr. FRANCIS spoke as follows:—

"If a British House of Commons can on any terms consent, in any instance, to abolish a trial by jury, and if the people at large are insensible of the danger of such a precedent, individuals who have done their duty must submit to their share in the mischief which they could not prevent. I fear

* Mr. FRANCIS's Speech, February 12, 1787.

† ——————, May 24, 1791.

the temper and character of the nation are changed. Though I am not an old man, I can remember the time, when an attempt of this nature would have *thrown the whole kingdom into a flame.* Had it been made when *a great man* [the late Earl of Chatham], who is now no more, had a seat in this House, *he would have started from the bed of sickness, he would have solicited some friendly hand to deposit him on this floor, and from this station with a monarch's voice would have called the kingdom to arms to oppose it. But he is dead, and has left nothing in this world that resembles him. He is dead; and the sense, and honour, and character, and understanding of the nation are dead with him**."

This brilliant eulogium on one of the noblest of men, is in a style worthy of the subject—"*the highest style of* JUNIUS,"—and it is as like him in sentiment as in style. Whether the qualified terms in which each bestowed his commendation, were occasioned by both entertaining precisely the same views of his lordship's character, though it is a matter of inferior consequence, may perhaps be ascertained by the following considerations.

To have approved at the same time of Mr.

* Mr. FRANCIS's speech, Parliamentary Debates, vol xvi. 228.

George Grenville and Lord Chatham was impossible. The conduct of the latter, during the period he was last in office, was calculated to wound the feelings of all Mr. Grenville's friends. Not content with Lord Temple's consent to give up his brother, for the purpose of forming a new and comprehensive administration, Lord Chatham is said to have required so many other sacrifices from that nobleman and his party, that he lost the most favourable opportunity of really benefiting his country. What added to this misconduct, as it was generally deemed, was the countenance he gave, by retaining place, to the ministry of the Duke of Grafton.

To this part of Lord Chatham's life Sir PHILIP probably adverts when he affirms, that his Lordship's character was in some respects *faulty;* and JUNIUS, by the severity of his attack on his Lordship at this particular period, evinced that it excited his displeasure*. This cause, however, did not continue long

In the autumn of 1768, Lord Chatham resigned the office of Lord Privy Seal, having for many months been unable to execute its duties. The first act of his freedom from ministerial connections, was the effecting of a perfect reconciliation with Earl Temple, and Mr. George Grenville. It

* JUNIUS ii 467, signature, ANTI-SEJANUS.

was not till the sessions which commenced in January 1770, that he was able to attend parliament.—The speeches he then made, and the line of conduct he pursued, gave general satisfaction. When this alteration in his practice had been marked with the characters of a determined plan, and "he had gallantly thrown away the scabbard*," both JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, as one man, testify the almost unbounded respect they entertained for him.

To condemn Lord Chatham's behaviour to Mr. George Grenville, was in effect to support the latter. But JUNIUS took a decided part; and by the manner in which he advocated Mr. Grenville's cause, he has given rise to a suspicion that he was biassed by interested motives. This is denied by JUNIUS, who affirms, that he is personally unknown to Mr. Grenville.—"It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being *personally known to him*, nor do I pretend to be completely master of the facts†." This declaration was supposed to proceed from his equal, in rank and consequence; but it was written on the 29th of July, 1769, at which time Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was in the War-office. Though

* JUNIUS, i. *321. Private letter to Wilkes.

† ——, i. *193, signature, JUNIUS.

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the fact in regard to Sir PHILIP loses much of the *importance* it pretended to, it is not likely to have been stated so expressly without some foundation. Was then Sir PHILIP known to Mr. Grenville? I shall not attempt to prove a negative, but merely observe, that from the Memoirs there is no reason to infer that he was personally known to him; nor have I met with any circumstances, that in the least tend to make such knowledge probable.—When Sir PHILIP received his "his little place" in the Secretary of State's office, Mr. George Grenville was not in power. In the year 1756, when Lord Chatham became Secretary of State, Mr. Grenville accepted the post of Treasurer of the Navy. On Lord Chatham's resignation in 1761, Mr. Grenville did not accompany him, but attached himself to Lord Bute and Lord Holland; and on May 29th, 1762, he succeeded Lord Bute as Secretary of State, which place he resigned on October 12th, in the same year, on account of an important difference in opinion with Lord Bute respecting an equivalent for the Havannah. In consequence of this dispute, Mr. Grenville retired from the cabinet, and became first Lord of the Admiralty. On Lord Bute's resignation, in April, 1763, he was appointed Prime Minister, having undertaken the two great employments of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He lost these in the changes which took

place in 1765: nor did he afterwards accept of any post, though he always promised his support, out of place, to an administration formed on a comprehensive system.

Amidst all these movements, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was not likely to be personally known to Mr. Grenville. Before the latter was made Secretary of State, Sir PHILIP had quitted that department, having been appointed in 1758 secretary to General Bligh, in 1760 secretary to Lord Kinnoul, and from 1763 to 1772 occupying a place in the War-office. But though he might not be personally known to Mr. Grenville, it was hardly possible for that gentleman to be *unknown* to Mr. FRANCIS. The Prime Minister, from his station, and from the importance of some of the measures in which he was chiefly concerned, would command the attention of Sir PHILIP. That he approved of the *man* is probable, from his censure of Lord Chatham. His opinion of the *minister*, except in what concerned the American Stamp Act, of which we shall speak hereafter, is not on record. But as the situation he held in the War-office was obtained *at the time Mr. George Grenville came into power*, as his expectation of patronage lay chiefly on that side, and the appointments he had already received were the gift of that party, it may be fairly presumed that his sentiments concerning Mr. Grenville were in unison with those

of JUNIUS, whose attachment is thus described by the last Editor.—"Of all the political characters of the day, Mr. Grenville appears to have been our Author's favourite; no man was more open to censure in many parts of his conduct, but he is never censured: while, on the contrary, he is extolled whenever an opportunity offers *."

In 1765, the prospect was altered by the dismissal of Mr. Grenville from office, and by his refusing to take any place again. Under the new arrangement Sir PHILIP had no friend; his hopes would, therefore, be directed to another change: and whatever was calculated to give stability to the existing power, would be viewed by him with apprehension. This accounts for the attacks of JUNIUS on Lord Chatham and Lord Camden. By lending their great influence to an administration so confessedly weak, that it was impossible it could hold together by any inherent principle of its own, they were open to every censure which attached to the Duke of Grafton's measures.

But if JUNIUS was not personally known to Mr. Grenville, he was well acquainted with Lord Egremont, Mr. Grenville's brother-in-law. He narrates the impression which a circumstance in the negociation of 1763 made upon his Lordship,

* JUNIUS, i. *81. Note by the Editor.

in terms which imply his knowledge of the man, as well as of the fact. "Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed. He saw and felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; *and there certainly was a moment* at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it." In a note to this passage, the Author proves his actual acquaintance with the office:—'This man, (Lord E.) notwithstanding his pride and Tory principles, had some English stuff in him. *Upon an official letter he wrote to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke desired to be recalled; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord Bute could appease him**."

From the above, and other passages in the well-known Letter to the Duke of Bedford, JUNIUS appears to have been particularly acquainted, not only with Lord Egremont's sentiments on the peace of 1763, but with the facts of the suspected delinquency of the Duke in regard to that treaty. What else are we to infer from that assertion,—"*I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would make him tremble even in his grave*†."

Now let the reader compare these traces of

* JUNIUS, i. 241, signature, JUNIUS.

† ———, i. p. 200, Private Letter to Woodfall

JUNIUS's *official* intelligence under Lord Egremont, with the following passage from one of the speeches of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. He observed, "*That he had been bred up in the Secretary of State's office, where he had the happiness to possess the favour of the late Earl of Egremont, then Secretary of State.*"

This brings us at once to the point of time to which JUNIUS refers in the anecdote above related. After the Earl of Kinnoul returned from his embassy in November, 1760, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS went back to his situation in the Secretary of State's office, where he remained for some time longer under the Earl of Chatham,—and then under the Earl of Egremont. The latter came into office on the 9th of October, 1761, and died in August, 1763. In the same year, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was removed to the War-office.—Now, as the Duke of Bedford set out for Paris on September 5, 1762, and the preliminaries were laid before Parliament in the November following, it is very clear that Sir PHILIP was in office under Lord Egremont, during the occurrence of that transaction which JUNIUS has recorded.

As I have no intention to suppress any thing that militates against the cause I have attempted to support, I shall state here that in this return of Sir PHILIP to the Secretary of State's office, exists a chance of his having been personally known to

Mr. Grenville. That gentleman was one of the Secretaries from May 29 to October 14, 1762. As Sir PHILIP has told us that he was in the office of Lord Egremont, the other Secretary, I leave the reader to judge whether his situation there was such as to cause Mr. Grenville, of necessity, to know him personally.

But to proceed:—On comparing the early political life of Sir PHILIP, and his opportunities of acquiring information, with the *date* and *nature* of the intelligence possessed by JUNIUS, we shall see strong reason to believe that, from the source now laid open, the latter derived considerable knowledge. That JUNIUS, indeed, "*had been bred up in the Secretary of State's office*," is apparent from the following passage in one of the miscellaneous letters. "*We are a little better acquainted than he imagines with the style of the Secretary of State's office*, as well as with the facts respecting Sir Jeffery Amherst's dismission*." His situation in this department accounts also for that knowledge of the *forms of office*, which he displays on some occasions: for instance, when he mentions the style in which the kings of Spain and England mutually address each other, and when he corrects Lord Rochford's French note.—"The

* JUNIUS, iii. 89, signature, LUCIUS.

King's acceptance of the Spanish ambassador's declaration is drawn up in barbarous French, and signed by the Earl of Rochford. This diplomatic Lord has spent his life in the study and practice of *etiquettes*, and is supposed to be a profound master of the ceremonies. I will not insult him by any reference to grammar or common sense. *If he were even acquainted with the common forms of his office*, I should think him as well qualified for it as any man in his Majesty's service. The reader is requested to observe Lord Rochford's method of authenticating a public instrument:—'En foi de quoi, *moi* soussigné, un des principaux secretaires d'etat de S. M. B. *ai* signé la presente de ma signature ordinaire, et icelle fait apposer le cachet de *nos* armes.' In three lines there are no less than seven false concords. *But the man does not even know the style of his office;* if he had known it, he would have said, '*nous*, soussigné secretaire d'etat S. M. B. *avons* signé,' &c.*"

This last evidence is general, and only proves the writer's connection, some time or other, with the Secretary of State's office. That which is furnished by the anecdote of Lord Egremont and the Duke of Bedford is more precise. It exhibits JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS *in the same office*

* JUNIUS, ii. 191, note by JUNIUS.

at *the same time.* From the glimpse it affords us, perhaps we may guess what reasons JUNIUS had to defy the Duke of Bedford, if he dared to interfere. The storm that would make him tremble in his grave was neither an idle threat, nor a very mysterious one.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE most singular, of all the political attachments of JUNIUS, is that which he entertained for the late Lord Holland. In one of his private Letters to Woodfall he says, "*I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour**." And when he suspected the late Mr. Fox of having anonymously attacked him in the newspapers, he not only forbears to retaliate as he might have done, but unequivocally states, "*that he designedly spared Lord Holland and his family.* Whether Lord Holland be invulnerable, or whether JUNIUS should be *wantonly provoked,* are questions worthy the *Black Boy's* consideration†."

This partiality for Lord Holland and his family, is in itself a very peculiar feature in the character of JUNIUS; but it becomes much more remarkable, when conjoined with an admiration of his Lordship's antagonist, Lord Chatham. JUNIUS was not that inconsistent being, to form two attachments, so decidedly dissimilar, without a cause;

* JUNIUS, i. *174.

† ———, iii. 410, signature, ANTI-FOX.

and in these instances he must have had very different grounds for his regard. Of Lord Chatham he declares his approbation for his public conduct. To Lord Holland then we must ascribe some private obligation, from the sense of which the integrity of the writer would not suffer him to feel free, even under provocations and excitements of the strongest kind.

Impossible as it would seem to reconcile these contradictions, there is one circumstance in the life of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS which fully solves the difficulty. "*In 1756, Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, gave him a little place in the Secretary of State's office:*" So that his first step into public life was made under the auspices of that very Lord Holland whom JUNIUS *designedly spared.* With such a reason, I will not doubt for a moment that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS would most religiously abstain from offering any injury to his lordship. But additional motives were not wanting. His father, Dr. FRANCIS, lived in *great intimacy* with Lord Holland: to him, as his *patron*, he dedicated his Demosthenes. He was his *domestic chaplain*, and the *tutor of the late Mr. Fox.* To the friendship of the noble lord he was also indebted for the preferment he held in the church; having received the living of Barrow, in Suffolk, and the chaplaincy of Chelsea Hospital, through the interest of that nobleman. A series of obli-

gations so strong as these would, no doubt, operate most forcibly on the son, even without his personal experience of any favours from the same hand; but in this instance it is difficult to say whether Sir PHILIP on his own account, or for his father's sake, was the more indebted to his friend and patron Lord Holland.

The solution here given of one of the most difficult paradoxes in the character of JUNIUS, affords nearly as strong support to our argument as any of the proofs before advanced.—One reason assigned by Lord Orford, for his suspecting Hamilton to have been the author of JUNIUS, is that "*Hamilton was brought forward by Lord Holland;* and it is remarkable, that Lord Holland, though very open to censure, is *not once mentioned.*" If this warranted the impression it made on Lord Orford's mind, we may judge of the effect which the knowledge of obligations so much greater and more numerous ought to produce. No doubt the son of Dr. FRANCIS would be possessed with feelings of habitual respect and regard for Lord Holland and his family, and that he would privately express his *wishes* in their favour, in the way that JUNIUS did to Woodfall: whether, with such inclinations towards that nobleman, it was possible or likely that JUNIUS in his public capacity could have acted otherwise than he did, let the reader determine. As the declared enemy of whatever bore the coun-

tenance of corruption, he felt himself constantly tempted, nay, he was called on, to attack the late Paymaster-general; he was further provoked by the interference and opposition, as he thought, of Mr. Fox, in a question wholly indifferent to the latter; and he had ample means of retaliation in his power he well knew, when he inquires "whether JUNIUS should be *wantonly* provoked:" but what course could he pursue under a sense of the obligations before mentioned? His public spirit would be neutralized by his private feelings, and only by silence could both be kept inviolate. Other reasons of a secret and personal nature might also have some influence: but of this we may be sure, that from the censure of a concealed author, supporting the character of JUNIUS, the severe and inflexible patriot, no common or light considerations could have preserved Lord Holland.

The next instance to be adduced of the connections of JUNIUS, is not less striking than the preceding; nor less fortunately met by the evidence of the Memoirs of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

Every one acquainted with the last edition of JUNIUS, must have noticed the very friendly tone which pervades his private correspondence with Woodfall.—"The spirit of your letter convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of those whose works you publish. Whether you

have guessed well or ill, must be left to our future acquaintance. For the matter of money be assured, that if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it.*** *My own works you shall constantly have, and in point of money be assured you shall never suffer**." These assurances of friendship and assistance are repeated at intervals throughout the whole correspondence.—" I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the turn I expect, you shall know *me by my works*†." " You must not write to me again, *but be assured I will never desert you*‡." " If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls *particularly on yourself*; for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other YOU *shall be reimbursed*§." " For my own part, I can very truly assure you that nothing would *afflict me more* than to have drawn you into a *personal danger*, because it admits of no recompense‖." " You cannot offend or afflict me *but by hazarding your own safety*¶." " I have the greatest reason to be

* JUNIUS, i. *196. Private Letter to Woodfall.
† ———, i. *207. Ditto.
‡ ———, i. *208. Ditto.
§ ———, i. *208. Ditto.
‖ ———, i. *221. Ditto.
¶ ———, i. *235. Ditto.

pleased with your care and attention, and wish it were in my power *to render you some essential service**."

In a private Letter to Wilkes, the same concern for Woodfall is expressed.—" Feeling, as I really do, for others, where my own safety is provided for, the danger to which I expose a simple printer afflicts and distresses me. It lowers me to myself to draw another into a hazardous situation which I cannot partake of with him. This consideration will account for my abstaining from ********** so long, and for the undeserved moderation with which I have treated him†."

Yet in other instances he displayed no such anxiety for the safety of his printer.—" If for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadvisable to print it as it stands, I must intreat the favour of you *to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real Junius*, worth a North Briton extraordinary‡." Of another letter he says, " I will not advise; though I think you perfectly safe:—all I can say is, that I rely upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, *or to-night in the Pacquet*§." At another

* JUNIUS, i. *246. Private Letter to Woodfall.

† ———, i. *326. Private Letter to Wilkes.

‡ ———, i. *224. Private Letter to Woodfall.

§ ———, i. *226. Ditto.

In the London Packet were admitted two Letters signed

time his indifference to the risk of the printer is unreservedly expressed. "If you should have any fears, I intreat you to send it early enough to Miller, to appear to-morrow night in the London Evening Post. In that case, you will oblige me by informing the public to-morrow, in your own paper, that a real JUNIUS will appear at night in the London. *Miller, I am sure, will have no scruples**."

The anxiety thus manifested exclusively for Woodfall, could not be altogether owing to his for-

JUNIUS, but not written by him. The first, which appeared 13th December, 1771, is a tolerably good imitation of his style, and was supposed by many to have been the production of the real JUNIUS. When Woodfall pointed it out to his correspondent, he replied, "The London Packet is not worth our notice. I suspect Garrick, and would have you hint so to him." (JUNIUS, i. *243. *Private Letter to Woodfall.*)

The second Letter was published on the first of May, 1772. It is by no means so clever as the former; and the design of the writer, whatever it was, seems to have been abandoned, in consequence of his failing to support the character he had assumed. The printer of the Packet, to satisfy the doubts and inquiries to which these performances gave rise, inserted the following notice in his paper.—"The public may be assured, that for aught the editor knows, the Letters signed JUNIUS in the LONDON PACKET, came from the original adopter of that signature. One thing, however, he does know, that the style is by no means inferior to that of the Letters universally fathered on the real JUNIUS."—But this specimen of the printer's critical abilities in what he *professed to know*, added no weight to his otherwise *insufficient* testimony, and the Letters met with the fate they deserved.

* JUNIUS. i. *214. Private letter to Woodfall.

bearance to inquire after his mysterious correspondent; for duty, interest, and reputation were alike consulted by the course which Woodfall pursued. Nor was JUNIUS a man of many attachments, likely to feel an inclination in favour of another merely because he corresponded with him in the way of business. His writings testify the contrary. We are led then to conclude, that his solicitude for the welfare of Woodfall proceeded from some secret personal knowledge of the *man;* that when he complimented his *talents*, he was not speaking at random; and that he well knew he might confide in his *integrity*, before he trusted him with the means of a discovery which he thought he should not survive three days.*

Admitting then that JUNIUS had a *personal acquaintance* with his printer, let us see how this fact will affect Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. His lot was certainly very different from that of Mr. Woodfall; and at the time the Letters were published, there seems to have been no kind of connection between them. But it appears that at one period they had the opportunity of becoming intimate. They were school-fellows of the same standing. *In 1753, Sir Philip was placed at St. Paul's school, under the care of Mr. George Thicknesse. In 1756, he was received into the Secretary of State's office.* Let us com-

* JUNIUS i. 280. Private letter to Woodfall.

pare these dates with the following extract from Nichols's Biographical Anecdotes:—"Henry Sampson Woodfall was born June 21, 1739, O. S. At eleven years old he went to St. Paul's school, whence he removed to serve his apprenticeship with his father." He entered the school, therefore in 1750-1, about two years earlier than Sir PHILIP. As between their ages there was but the difference of one year, and it was possible for them to have remained together three years at school, their intimacy might be presumed: but I am told that I have the authority of the present Mr. Woodfall for stating, that *his father formed an acquaintance with* Sir PHILIP FRANCIS *when at school,* which caused them, through life, to regard each other with particular kindness; and though various circumstances soon dissolved that early connection, yet the remembrance of it was ever after kept up between them, by some friendly token of acknowledgment whenever they met.

This piece of intelligence fully establishes a point, which without such aid would be entitled to some notice. But the truth may also be arrived at through a different medium: the Reverend Philip Rosenhagen was the *school-fellow,* and continued through life the *mutual friend* of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS and Mr. Woodfall; thus there is additional proof of a particular bond of union having

subsisted between the two latter gentlemen at the time they were at school.

It is a little remarkable, that to Mr. Rosenhagen the Letters of JUNIUS were at one time attributed, though certainly without foundation. In the Essay prefixed to the last edition of JUNIUS this conjecture is thus noticed. "It is sufficient to observe, that Mr. Rosenhagen, who was a school-fellow of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, continued on terms of acquaintance with him in subsequent life, and occasionally wrote for the Public Advertiser: but he was repeatedly declared by Mr. Woodfall, who must have been a competent evidence as to the fact, not to be the author of JUNIUS's Letters. A private letter of Rosenhagen's to Mr. Woodfall is still in the possession of his son, and nothing can be more different from each other than this autograph and that of JUNIUS*."

Mr. Rosenhagen *occasionally wrote for the Public Advertiser;* and if our opinion concerning JUNIUS be correct, Mr. FRANCIS also assisted in supporting the newspaper of his old school-fellow. But, in so doing, would he not betray himself? To this it may be answered, that from the beginning JUNIUS wrote in a *disguised hand;* that he was, doubtless, unaware of the lengths he should be afterwards tempted to go, which rendered the risk

* JUNIUS, i. *121. Preliminary Essay.

he ran at first of less moment; and that not only by degrees was he at last *committed*, but it was after carefully sounding to discover his relative danger. That he might *possibly* be known to the printer is, I think, deducible from the following Letter, dated July 15, 1769.—"Sir, I have received the favour of your note. From the contents of it, I imagine you may have something to communicate to me; if that be the case, I beg you will be particular; and also that you will tell me candidly *whether you know or suspect who I am.* Direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton, to be left at the bar of the New Exchange coffee-house on Monday, as early as you think proper. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant, C*."

By the formality of this Letter, so contrary to the style of his former notes, he probably intended to detach from Woodfall's mind the idea, that in his correspondent JUNIUS he had found an old acquaintance. Whatever answer was returned, it relieved the querist from all dread of being suspected: he replies, "The spirit of your Letter convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people whose works you publish. *Whether you have guessed well or ill must be left to our future acquaintance*†." He gets rid of the

* JUNIUS, i. *171. Private Letter to Woodfall.

† ———, i. *196. Private Letter to Woodfall.

question by a "*Whether*," &c. which recals to our memory the note of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS to the editor of the Monthly Magazine. Woodfall, of course, had not guessed right; but it was prudent not to tell him so. To this Letter is subscribed "Your friend C." Having now laid aside all his apprehensions, he, from that time, wrote to Woodfall in the same frank and familiar way in which he had been accustomed to address him.

From the preceding statement then it will no doubt be admitted, that JUNIUS might have been the early friend and school-fellow of Woodfall, and yet that his correspondence might be, and was, so managed, as to preclude discovery. With this allowance, it is reasonable to think that a real well-wisher to Woodfall was more likely to have been the author, than an indifferent person; not only from the many instances of regard already enumerated, but from those offers of pecuniary assistance which were made by JUNIUS, and which, without the supposition of a secret bias like this, have led to the belief that he was himself in affluent circumstances,—an opinion the less entitled to implicit confidence, because our Author was sedulous to impress it on the mind of all his correspondents.

It is not indeed very likely that a *total* stranger to Woodfall would have taken the trouble to *disguise his hand-writing*. As he trusted him with

more important matters, he might have confided to Woodfall the destruction of his Letters, and so have written them in the hand most easy to him, which at any rate would have been a considerable alleviation of the labour, by which he confesses he was almost overcome. Or he might have desired Woodfall to copy them, as was the case with the note to Garrick, in order that no person might ever see the originals, and then he could have incurred no risk. But from the necessity there seems to have been that his natural hand-writing should not be seen *even by Woodfall*, and from his *undeviating* use of a feigned character in his most private and confidential notes to him, the only inference that can be drawn, in my opinion, is, the possible knowledge by Woodfall of the natural hand-writing, from some previous or probable intercourse between the parties.

The note which JUNIUS desired Woodfall to get transcribed before he sent it to Garrick, was written to check the impertinent inquiries of the latter, whose assiduity to trace our author gave him excessive alarm. By implication, this precautionary measure, as in the case of Woodfall, leads us to conclude that Garrick, or some one to whom the original Letter might be shewn, was acquainted with the natural hand-writing of JUNIUS, and might be able to detect it in spite of the dis-

guise. This supposition, that the writer was a person known to Garrick, is further countenanced by the particular information JUNIUS seems to have had of every proceeding on the part of his "impertinent" spy. The opportunity which it seems he possessed of knowing to what secret practices Garrick had recourse, affords evidence of peculiar means of inspection, and renders it probable that equal means of obtaining intelligence, *mutatis mutandis*, were in the power of the latter. But there is little doubt that JUNIUS was *personally* known to Garrick, and that *for this reason* he was so exceedingly disturbed. He knew that if he was once *seen* by Garrick, detection was unavoidable. Let us observe the facts:—He knew that Garrick had learnt from Woodfall that JUNIUS would write no more, but he did not know in what manner this information was obtained. He imagined that Garrick had drawn it from Woodfall by his own ingenuity; and he accordingly warns the latter in the following words: —"(Secret.) Beware of David Garrick, he was sent to pump you, and went directly to Richmond to tell the king I should write no more."—Under the impression also that Garrick had gained this intelligence by insinuating himself into the confidence of Woodfall, he wrote the note which has been already mentioned, threatening vengeance if he persisted in his "*impertinent inquiries*;" and

justly apprehensive lest Woodfall should have told Garrick the name of the coffee-house where his Letters were left, he writes to the former, "*I must be more cautious than ever.* I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or if I did, they would attaint me by bill. *Change to the Somerset coffee-house, and let no* MORTAL *know the alteration.* I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my *destruction.* Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me*." On the outside of this Letter was written *private and particular*†.

Woodfall explained, that Garrick had been apprized of the intended discontinuance of the Letters, by his having named it confidentially in a Letter he was writing to Garrick; and therefore dissuades JUNIUS from sending the note. With this he at first seems satisfied.—"I have no doubt of what you say about David Garrick; *so drop the note.*" But so necessary was it that Garrick should not *endeavour* to trace him, that he adds, "*As it is important to deter him from meddling,* I desire you will tell him that I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from JUNIUS would destroy him." Not satisfied even with this security,

* JUNIUS, i. *231. Private Letter to Woodfall.

† ——, i, *233. Note by the Editor.

he says at the end of the same Letter, "*Upon reflection, I think it absolutely necessary* to send that note to D. G., only say *practices* instead of *impertinent inquiries* *."

Nor did the subject end here: though the rest is not printed, more was undoubtedly said to Woodfall concerning the facility of his disposition, for the next letter begins, "*I did never question*† your understanding. Far otherwise. The Latin word *simplex* conveys to me an amiable character, and never denotes folly. Though we may not be deficient in point of capacity, it is very possible that neither of us may be cunning enough for Mr. Garrick." Three weeks after he again adverts to the same topic:—"Make your mind easy about me; I believe you are an honest man, and I never am angry."

The inferences altogether drawn from the above statement are these, that JUNIUS had a particular knowledge of Garrick, and that the latter was *certainly* acquainted with the person,

* JUNIUS, i. p. *236. Private letter to Woodfall.

† FRANCIS—"*I did never understand* that Colonel Goddard had quitted the objects of his commission," &c. (*Minute, March* 4, 1779. *No.* 182, *App. to Sixth Report.*)

Again, December 28, 1778.

—"*I did never propose* an extract of a private letter as authority to the Board." (*No.* 163, *App. to Sixth Report.*)

and *probably* with the hand-writing, of him who carried on the "conveyancing" and corresponding department of JUNIUS; from which *personal knowledge* it became of the utmost possible consequence, that *Garrick, above all men,* should be deterred from joining in the pursuit which was made after the Author.

To meet these conclusions, it must be stated on the part of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, that Garrick enjoyed the "*friendship and esteem*" of Dr. FRANCIS, as we are told by the latter in the preface to his play of Eugenia. The son of Dr. FRANCIS was, of course, *personally* known to Mr. Garrick; who, if he was not also familiar with the hand-writing of Sir PHILIP, might have shown it to some one, by whom it would be recognized even in a disguised state. It was prudent, therefore, in Sir PHILIP, to desire that his note to Garrick might be copied to "avoid having this hand too commonly seen"—this *feigned* hand. And if Sir PHILIP was also the *receiver* of the Letters from the coffee-house, it was *highly necessary* that the *place should be changed,* and that no mortal should know the alteration.

With this instance of remarkable agreement between the writer of the Letters and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, we shall close the account of their CON-

NECTIONS. The supposition that Sir PHILIP was himself the "*conveyancer*" of the packets, either directly or through the medium of a chairman, and consequently *certain of detection if Garrick caught a glimpse of his person*, will receive further illustration as we proceed.

CHAPTER IX.

WHETHER JUNIUS was a Member of Parliament may with tolerable certainty be collected from his writings. Though a frequent hearer of the debates, and particularly of those in the House of Lords, yet it appears from the following Letter to Woodfall, January 31, 1771, that he had no seat in either assembly.—"It is of the utmost importance to the public cause, that the doors of the *House of Lords* should be opened on Tuesday next, perhaps the following [four paragraphs to be inserted in rotation] may help to shame them into it.

"'We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening the doors of both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday next, in the usual manner, being desirous that the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland Island.'

"'The nation expect, that on Tuesday next at least, both Houses will be open as usual, otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect, that the proceedings of the ministry have been such as will not bear a public discussion.'

"'We hear that the ministry intend to move, that no gentlemen may be refused admittance into

either House on Tuesday next. Lord North in particular thinks it touches his character, to have no part of his conduct concealed from the nation."

" 'The resolution of the ministry to move for opening both Houses on Tuesday next does them great honour. If they were to do otherwise, it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation, and to the king's honour.' Pray keep it up."

It is not very likely that a member of the House of Lords would have been so anxious for unclosed doors: he could so well turn the secrecy of the debate into a charge against ministers, and at the same time could convey to the public so full and correct an account of what passed in the house, that his vantage ground would have been improved by the exclusion, and no desirable information would have been suppressed. But to a stranger, it was an object of the first importance to get admission. As far therefore as these paragraphs warrant any conclusion, they lead to the belief that JUNIUS was not a member of the House of Lords: but this opinion is further strengthened by what he says in his celebrated Letter to Lord Mansfield. " My charge against you is now made good. I shall, however, be ready to answer, or submit to fair objections. If whenever this matter shall be agitated, *you suffer the doors of the House of Lords to be shut*, I now

protest that I shall consider you as *having made no reply*. From that moment, in the opinion of the world, you will stand self-convicted*."

To a peer in parliament, this shutting the doors of the House would, as before stated, have furnished occasion of reproach, without in the least screening the person seeking refuge behind the measure: but suppose it were for other reasons desirable that the public should have access to the House, how does it follow that from this step being taken, Lord Mansfield should be considered as *having made no reply?* The conclusion is absurd, on the part of one present; but in a stranger, the argument is necessary and just. Having no right in that assembly, the exclusion of the public would deprive him of the only chance of hearing, and of afterwards combating the noble Lord's statement; and thus he would be driven to the extremity of assuming, that from the exercise of such a power, his antagonist must, "in the opinion of the world, stand *self-convicted*." He has no alternative. JUNIUS, then, having acted in this manner, declares himself not to be a Member of the House of Lords.

Reasons equally strong may be advanced to shew that he was not a member of the House of

* JUNIUS, ii. 440, signature, JUNIUS.

Commons. On the Tuesday referred to, the great question respecting Falkland Island was expected to be discussed; for which cause he so earnestly wished to hear the debate in the House of Lords. Now, as a member of the other House, his duty would have required his attendance there; but not even a choice was allowed him, for on that evening, February 5, 1771, there was a call of the House, in contemplation of the debate taking place, though the great discussion did not come on in either House till the 13th.

But however irreconcileable the foregoing statements are with the idea, that JUNIUS was a member of Parliament, his anxiety that *both Houses* should sit with unclosed doors was perfectly natural, in the view we take of the writer. When Parliament deliberated in secret, Mr. FRANCIS was of course excluded; he could then obtain only such intelligence as any other person might pick up from members who were present. This was insufficient for JUNIUS. It was one of the causes of his great popularity that he was suspected of being some disguised senator; and into many of his Letters are thrown not only the sentiments, but even the language of our first orators. In this sense we may understand the following quotation from his Letters, though it was probably not intended to bear exactly this construction.—" I

willingly accept of a sarcasm from Colonel Barré, or a simile from Mr. Burke*."

And such conduct was certainly wise. He was thus enabled, to concentrate in his own compositions, the strength and beauty of all that was said on that side of the question which he approved; with this additional advantage, that if the coincidence were traced, it not only removed suspicion still further from the real writer, but gave consequence to his character, and weight to his authority.

A part of one of Lord Chatham's speeches, introduced in the Preface to the Letters, was certainly reported from notes thus taken by JUNIUS, who observes of it,—"The following quotation from a speech delivered by Lord Chatham on the 11th of December, 1770, is *taken with exactness*. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here." Long before this he had incorporated the *same* extract not only in substance, but almost word for word, in one of the *miscellaneous* Letters, dated the 14th of December, only three days after the debate had taken place. But at that time he did not give it as a quotation from Lord Chatham's speech, nor was it distinguished by inverted commas. It assumes only to be a faithful statement by the writer of "what was the fact,

* JUNIUS, ii. 357. signature, JUNIUS.

and what was the irregularity of the proceeding [of Lord Mansfield] upon it." In the end he says, "I affirm, therefore, *with Lord Chatham*, that his conduct was irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*"; but this reference to Lord Chatham's opinion is not intended to lead any one to conclude, that the whole of the passage was borrowed from him. Yet such was the case, according to the declaration of JUNIUS above quoted: and the circumstance is worthy of remark, since it exhibits a proof that JUNIUS, as before stated, availed himself of the sentiments of the leading orators, in order to enrich his own Letters; for which purpose he attended the debates, and for the sake of greater accuracy was accustomed to take notes of particular speeches.

The day after Lord Chatham had delivered the preceding opinion on Lord Mansfield's conduct, "the great Lord Camden addressed him in the following words." Here JUNIUS again quotes part of a speech, in which Lord Mansfield is challenged to name a day when his doctrines might be discussed. The passage selected is an amplification of what JUNIUS had reported in substance two days after the event; and in this, as in Lord Chatham's case, no other account had intervened from which it could be taken.

† JUNIUS, iii. 302. signature, PHALARIS.

He was present, according to his own words, at many other debates. As PHILO-JUNIUS, vol. ii. p. 364, he says, "With regard to Lord Camden, the truth is, that he inadvertently overshot himself, as appears plainly by that unguarded mention of a tyranny of forty days, *which I myself heard.*" It occurred on Dec. 10th, 1766. Of the Duke of Grafton's "oratorial powers" he gives a specimen, observing, "as to the other test of his abilities, I mean his talent for talking in public, I can speak with greater precision, for I have OFTEN *had the honour of hearing him**." He states that he was in the House of Commons at the opening of the sessions on the 3d of November, 1770, and comments pretty severely upon Lord Barrington's speech that evening†. And on many other occasions he seems so fully informed of what was going forward in Parliament, especially in the House of Lords, as to leave no doubt of his personal attendance at the time‡.

Mr. Burke's Speech‖ on the opening of the session in November, 1767, is the most complete of any that JUNIUS reported; but it claims attention for other reasons. It was delivered on the 24th of November: on the 28th or 29th, Mr.

* JUNIUS, iii. 286.

† ——— iii. 278.

‡ See Miscellaneous Letters, No. 80, 81.

‖ This is the first report of any Speech by Mr. Burke.

Woodfall acknowledged the receipt of the packet; but dared not publish the speech, unless he was "permitted to make such changes in certain expressions, as may take off the immediate offence without hurting the meaning." He obtained leave, for the speech was given to the public with certain changes and omissions, on the 5th of December following. It is prefaced by the following Letter.

"Mr. Printer,—There are a party of us who, for our amusement, have established a kind of political club. We mean to give no offence whatever to any body in our debates. The following is a mere *jeu d'esprit*, which I threw out at one of our late meetings, and is at your service, if you think it will afford the least entertainment to your readers.

"I am, &c. Y. Z*."

In the political register for April, 1768, *published by Almon*, a letter appears, which unquestionably came from JUNIUS, since it accompanies the *entire* report of that speech which had been mutilated by Woodfall. It is as follows.

Sir,—The following authentic part of an interesting debate in the House of Commons, on the motion for an address in answer to the King's speech, on the first day of last session, is at your service.

"Your friend, &c.

* JUNIUS, ii. 498.

"House of Commons, 24th of November, 1767.—Mr. Conway had concluded with a laboured, though not very artful, panegyric on the late Mr. Townshend. It consisted of the usual accumulation of talents, abilities, judgment, sagacity, &c.; but interrupted by Mr. Conway's usual hesitation between each word, as if he doubted of the truth of what he was saying. He confessed that 'his dear lamented friend had engaged himself to prepare a plan to be submitted to Parliament, for the effectual relief of the poor in the article of provisions, and he had no question that, if that great man had survived, he would have been able to perform his promise; but unfortunately for the public, his plan was lost with him: that it was easy to find a successor to his place, but impossible to find a successor to his abilities, or one equal to the execution of his plans. The House ought not, therefore, to be surprised, that the King's surviving servants had not yet been able to devise any scheme for the relief of the poor, although a man of Mr. Townshend's superior qualifications might have been fully equal to the task.'

"The House received Mr. Conway's expressions of humility with silent approbation, and seemed to agree with him in his sense of his own inferiority and that of his colleagues.

"Mr. Edmund Burke then got up, and made

the following *excellent* speech." Here follows the complete Report.

The prefatory observations from the Political Register, as they are certainly written by JUNIUS, have been thought worthy of insertion here; but the speech it would be useless now to transcribe, as it appears entire in the second edition of the Letters, lately published by Mr. Woodfall. The difference at first consisted in the omission of a long paragraph which Woodfall was afraid to insert, and in the substitution of such terms for Speaker, House, Throne, &c. as would give it the character of a debate at a political *club*. That these alterations were made in the original copy at the request of Woodfall, who was afraid to print it as a direct speech; and that the introductory Letter was written *afterwards*, and worded so as to suit the second intention, is evident from the *date* of that Letter, and from the tenor of Woodfall's note to his correspondent, wherein he desires leave "to make such changes in *certain* EXPRESSIONS, as may take off the immediate offence without hurting the meaning*."

* In a late publication, intended to prove that Mr. Burke was JUNIUS, much stress is laid on Y. Z.'s letter and speech. "It is a document which, if I do not deceive myself very much," says the writer, "*will set the controversy*, concerning the Author of JUNIUS, *for ever at rest*." He grounds his opinion on the presumption, 1st, That Burke himself sent the speech to Woodfall, from the phrase, "*which I threw out*" occurring in the introductory letter: but as he

Let us now return to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. Like JUNIUS, at the time the Letters were written,

observes, "that all those who heard the speech in the House, would, when they saw the letter of Y. Z. in the Public Advertiser, in which he says it was spoken by himself, infer immediately that the letter in question, as well as the speech which accompanied it, were sent to the printer by Mr. Burke himself," we must be excused from thinking that the latter would have so grossly committed himself, even had this introductory letter not been written, as it certainly was, in compliance with Woodfall's wishes, and to countenance the alterations *he had suggested*. The writer presumes, 2dly, That when Almon published the debates of this period in the year 1774, he received the *entire* copy of the speech which appears in that collection, "from authority," in other words, from Burke himself; because the paragraph omitted by Woodfall is inserted there: whereas the true source of Almon's *authority* is clearly no other than the copy sent to the Political Register, as is proved by its having furnished him at the same time with the account, *totidem verbis*, of Mr. Conway's speech. Besides, so far is this first perfect copy from supporting the opinion that *Burke* sent the speech, or that if otherwise, he who sent it was "under the necessity of pirating the productions of others, and decking himself out in a plumage not his own," that he even prefaced it as we see with *Mr. Burke's name*, and called it an "*excellent* speech."

So much for *facts*. The value of the *parallels* by which the writer attempts to uphold his ill-founded conjecture, may be guessed at from "the specimens which come under the head of *inverted construction*." After mentioning several instances where the preposition follows the verb, instead of being placed before the pronoun which it governs, as —"*whom* he had never *spoken to*," instead of "*to whom* he had never *spoken*," &c. he adds, "Had I *no other* reasons for thinking that the Letters of JUNIUS were written by Mr. Burke, the inference arising from this species of construction would be *wholly satisfactory to my mind!*" With such sentiments, it is not surprising to find this gentleman mention "one *fact* more relative to this subject: during the time the Letters appeared in the Public Advertiser, Mr. Burke's *son*

he had no seat in Parliament; yet true to his parallel, he was, like him, a frequent hearer of the debates, especially in the House of Lords, and on more than one occasion, he also took notes of Lord Chatham's speeches.

In Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, first published in 1791, a part of the debate in the House of Lords at the opening of the session in 1770, is then, for the first time, given to the public from a manuscript report furnished by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. As I have no doubt of the circumstance, I state it without reservation; but to satisfy the reader, who cannot be expected to place dependance on the word of an unknown writer, some reasons will be adduced in support of the assertion.

In the first place, Sir PHILIP is not obscurely hinted at in the paragraph which introduces the debate. Almon says:—

"The next session was opened on the ninth day

was a scholar at Westminster school; and it is remembered by some of those who were at Westminster school at the same time, that *his private tutor* was sometimes able to tell, before hand, when a JUNIUS was to appear!" The author of the Preliminary Essay may very well bear to be told by the relator of *such a fact* as this, that his remarks in opposition are "*silly* and *childish*," and that "*when one hears such folly* as this brought forward as an argument upon the present subject, *it is difficult to avoid laughing.*"

of January, 1770. The discontents which pervaded the whole nation, stimulated him [Lord Chatham] to the most vigorous exertion of his talents. He considered the conduct of the House of Commons, on all the questions concerning the Middlesex election, as wholly unconstitutional. He attended on the first day. *His speeches on that day have met with a better fate than many of his former speeches, for they were accurately taken by a* GENTLEMAN OF STRONG MEMORY, NOW A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, and from his notes they are here printed*."

So completely does this description, joined with the nature of the transaction to which it relates, point out Sir PHILIP FRANCIS as the only gentleman to whom it properly belongs, that I dare say the point which I am attempting to establish, would be at once conceded by many persons: but we have more than current opinion in support of our assertion; for,

Secondly, Sir PHILIP declares that he was in the House of Lords *on the night* this speech was made, and that he *heard* Lord Chatham make use of the very words which it contains. In this instance the identity is brought *home*. "I HEARD IT, *from Lord Chatham*," says Sir PHILIP, "*that*

* Almon's Anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham, ii. 76.

Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is at once, res detestabilis et caduca.*"

I say that the identity is brought *home* to Sir PHILIP, because it is morally impossible that another man should be found who, under all the other circumstances of resemblance in which Sir PHILIP is placed, should have this most important fact traced to him,—that he was present in the House of Lords when this speech was delivered by Lord Chatham.

But, Thirdly, The maxim which he says he heard from Lord Chatham, is expressed in terms which could only offer themselves to the writer of the speech. On *his* memory the sentiment would be so firmly impressed, that without recurring to the printed copy, he would be able to quote it with sufficient accuracy; yet conscious of his right to the whole, he would appropriate to himself any part of it, without that verbal fidelity which an extract from the writings of another person would demand. In the printed speech this passage is as follows:—" Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination: *it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction.*

* Vide Essay on the Regency.

It is what my noble friend Lord Lyttleton has truly described it, Res detestabilis et caduca."

Fourthly, The motto in the same Essay, presents us with another quotation from Lord Chatham's speech.—"*There is one ambition at least, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors.—Earl of Chatham, January* 9, 1770."

In this quotation, the words "*which I ever will acknowledge,*" should have been inserted after "*least.*" By the alteration, as in the former example, Sir PHILIP again proves his uncontrollable property in the printed speech. But what does he say besides. "*After the noble speaker of these words, no man has so good a right to make use of them as I have.*" Perhaps it was not intended, but according to our present argument, there is a truth in this assertion beyond what strikes the eye; for if his Lordship uttered the words, Sir PHILIP, who had given them to the public, had a *better title* to them than any other man, *except his Lordship.* He further observes:—"*They express a principle on which I have acted, and I resort to them as* MY OWN." He has always been a firm friend to liberty: but why he should resort to these expressions as *his* own, and with a right which *no other man,* but *the speaker,* is warranted to assume, is under any other supposition than the above, incomprehensible.

Fifthly, Another quotation from the same speech occurs at the beginning of Sir PHILIP's pamphlet on Paper Currency.—"It was said by William Earl of Chatham forty years ago, *or somebody has recorded it for him*, that it was a maxim he had observed through life, when he had lost his way, to stop short, lest, by proceeding without knowledge, and advancing from one false step to another, he should wind himself into an inextricable labyrinth, and never be able to recover the right road."

A doubt is here expressed as to the authority for this observation: either Lord Chatham said it, or *somebody has recorded it for him*. If Sir PHILIP means to say that he could not recollect from which of these sources the observation proceeded, the accuracy, with which the quotation is given, contradicts the insinuation; for he who remembers the exact words of a long quotation, cannot but call to mind the authority also. With his recollection then of the authority, what reason can be given for this unwillingness to state it?

Admitting that Sir PHILIP was the person who first recorded the remark, the answer is ready. Prudential motives might prevent his acknowledging the quotation to be taken from his *own* notes: and as to the doubt expressed whether Lord Chatham spoke the words, or whether they were only attributed to him by another, no person but the

reporter, conscious of his own share in the speech, and of what belonged to the orator, would have dreamt of such a distinction.

The debate, as printed by Almon, consisted of a speech by Lord Chatham, another by Lord Mansfield, and the reply of the first speaker. The intermediate speech is authenticated to proceed from the same pen, by the following remark.—"This noble Lord's answer (taken also from the same gentleman's notes) it is necessary to insert, on account of Lord Chatham's reply, which follows it."

On the 22d of January, 1770, *three other speeches* in the House of Lords were reported by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, and published with the preceding. That no doubt can exist from what quarter they were obtained, the remark which introduces them will testify.

"This speech [of the Marquis of Rockingham], the answer of the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Chatham's reply, are printed from the notes of the *same gentleman* who communicated the three preceding speeches. They have none of them been printed before. It was necessary to insert Lord Rockingham's and the Duke of Grafton's speeches, because they were introductory to Lord Chatham's*."

* Almon's Anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham, ii. 108.

All the proofs, therefore, which gave certainty to our affirmation respecting the former, are equally valid in determining the origin of the present speeches, and without further question they ought to be considered as equally proceeding from Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. But evidence of a direct nature is found even here, which, in connection with what has been detailed, must carry irresistible conviction. Sir PHILIP FRANCIS avows his title to this latter speech. He *not only quotes* it, but was *present at its delivery*. In his pamphlet on Paper Currency, are these remarkable words.—

"Let the war take its course; or, as *I heard Lord Chatham* declare in the House of Lords, with a monarch's voice, LET DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER."

The *Speech* says, "If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity: if not, MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER*." The sentence is in both cases printed in small capitals, as an acknowledgment of its peculiar emphasis. It should also be observed, that frequent as are these quotations from the speeches in question, I know of no other instances wherein Sir PHILIP has alluded to, or transcribed any expressions made use of by Lord Chatham in other printed speeches.

* Almon's Anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham, ii. 119.

To the foregoing direct appeals to the sentiments of Lord Chatham, might be added the extraordinary internal evidence of identity which both these speeches exhibit. But as I have no intention to beg the question, or to bespeak beforehand the suffrages of the reader, that ulterior influence arising from this part of our subject shall be left till we meet with it in its proper place. At present we have to attend to the *circumstantial* details connected with this stage of our inquiry; and these, let us remember, consist of the important facts, that in conformity with the practice of JUNIUS, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS took notes of two of Lord Chatham's speeches, which he subsequently reported; that the speeches, so reported by Sir PHILIP were made at the opening of that particular session, in which JUNIUS anticipated the discomfiture of the ministerial party; that they were delivered at the very time when he expected things would *take the turn* from which Woodfall should *know him by his works;* that then *the crisis* was approaching, at which with the *assistance of Lord Chatham,* he had no doubt he should *conquer them at last:* all which expressions plainly shew that he felt the utmost interest in the success of those debates; and lead us to expect, that if any speeches were deemed worthy of being preserved by JUNIUS, it would be those for which we are indebted to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

One remark more, and we have done with this part of our subject. When Woodfall refused to insert Mr. Burke's speech unless it underwent certain alterations, JUNIUS complied with the condition; changing the offensive expressions, and giving it by his prefatory letter a different character. This seems to have been done out of respect to Woodfall, and in deference to his feelings on the subject. But the claims of friendship thus satisfied, JUNIUS without delay sent the perfect original to another printer, who had "fewer scruples." This was ALMON, the *same person* for whom Sir PHILIP FRANCIS drew up the two reports which contain Lord Chatham's speeches. But might not the preference which JUNIUS gave to Almon be accidental, and a solitary instance? By no means: a striking proof of this appears in the following statement, and, if I was not afraid of increasing this volume to an unreasonable size, I could produce a great number of similar cases:—JUNIUS sent some poetry to Woodfall, which the author of a recent Inquiry*, who relates the circumstance, considers "evidently written for *Mr. Woodfall's personal gratification;* as from internal evidence, the Poem *could never have been intended for publication.*" It begins thus:—

* Inquiry, &c. with reference to Mr. Glover, p. 7.

"HARRY AND NAN*.

"AN ELEGY IN THE MANNER OF TIBULLUS.

"Can Apollo resist, or a poet refuse,
When Harry and Nancy solicit the muse?
A statesman, who makes the whole nation his care,
And a nymph, who is almost as chaste as she's fair."

Mr. Glover's advocate, who properly infers "from reading the private notes of JUNIUS to Woodfall, —that *the author had a personal regard for him*, and that he *knew him thoroughly*,"—may perceive, by turning to the Political Register for June, 1768, that the above Poem was not written for Mr. Woodfall's sole amusement. He received it for insertion in the Public Advertiser, but as he did not choose to print it, JUNIUS, as before, sends it to ALMON, *who published the whole Poem without hesitation.* So that it appears not only that JUNIUS had a regard for Woodfall, in which he resembled Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, but that the *next printer*, to whom the *former* had recourse, was equally distinguished by the favours of the *latter*.

* Duke of Grafton and Nancy Parsons.

CHAPTER X.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, soon after his return from India in 1781, obtained a seat in Parliament, and greatly distinguished himself by the part he took in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and in all the discussions connected with the interests of India. In the course of these exertions, it may naturally be inquired, how could he conduct himself so as to support the character of JUNIUS for eloquence, without revealing at the same time the secret of his identity. Mr. Burke had said of JUNIUS,—" Were he a member of that House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be *easily known* by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public." What then were the peculiar circumstances which, in the case of Sir PHILIP, prevented the character of JUNIUS from discovering itself, as Mr. Burke had predicted?

To answer this question properly, it is requisite to consider how much of the character of JUNIUS could have been displayed in the House of Commons. Had he manifested the same daring spirit there which animated his anonymous productions, he certainly would have been known. But who would have the hardihood to sustain this part of his character? Not JUNIUS. He knew it would have been his *destruction;—he was sure he should not survive a discovery three days**. Mr. Burke, therefore, evinced an uncommon ignorance of human nature, if he expected *that* conduct to be pursued by JUNIUS in Parliament, which was one of his chief characteristics only because he was unknown. Of the same unfounded nature was his expectation that JUNIUS would be known by his *knowledge*, his *firmness*, and *integrity*. The two latter qualities are still, thank Heaven, too common for any member to be exclusively distinguished for possessing them. And as for his knowledge, not only would any man reasonably dread to declare in his own person the facts revealed by JUNIUS; but at the time Sir PHILIP was a member of the House, he had not those secret means of acquiring information, which he possessed when the Letters were written.

Nothing remains then by which he might have

* JUNIUS, i. p. 230. Private Letter to Woodfall.

been discovered, but the force and splendour of his eloquence. And of this how little can be expected, when we recollect the labour which JUNIUS confessedly bestowed upon his writings to fit them for the public eye. "Such finished forms of composition," says the author of the Essay, "bear in themselves the most evident marks of elaborate forecast and revisal; and the Author rather boasted of the pains he had bestowed upon them, than attempted to conceal his labour*." This difficulty of composition in the case of JUNIUS arose from his great scrupulousness in the choice of words; and this habit, without being counteracted by public speaking, would of course impede that *copia fandi*, by the aid of which an orator in general retouches his piece till it equals his first conception. All that remains then to be ascertained is, whether there was any impediment of this description to the *oratorial*† powers of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

By his own account, he was deficient in that easy flow of words which is necessary to form a perfect speaker. Many of his addresses to the House are introduced with an apology for this defect. On the motion for receiving the petition of Captain Williams, accused of the murder of Mus-

* JUNIUS, i. p. *91. Preliminary Essay.

† This word, which is used by JUNIUS, occurs in no Dictionary, nor, as far as I can ascertain, in any work prior to his time with the exception of *Dr. Francis's* Demosthenes.

tapha Cawn, Sir PHILIP said, "he never regretted *the want of a ready delivery of his thoughts* in addressing the House, more than on the present occasion, which, in his opinion, deserved the application, and would justify the exertion of the greatest eloquence and abilities in the House of Commons*."

Again.—"I am not accustomed to speak in public; and I very much fear, that although what I have to say is clear enough in my own mind, it will appear in great disorder†."

This constant embarrassment is alluded to at the commencement of almost every long speech.—"Sir, I am thoroughly conscious of my own infirmities. I cannot hope to make *myself understood*, unless I am heard without impatience or interruption. *Even signs and gestures are sufficient to disconcert me*‡."

And in his speech on Mr. Pitt's India bill, he addressed the House as follows.—

"There is one preliminary word, including a solicitation, which I shall offer to the House, and particularly to the Right Hon. Gentleman who brought in the bill. It is, that they would separate and distinguish the substance of what I have to submit to their consideration, from *my manner*

* Mr. Francis's Speech, Parliamentary Debates, xxvii. 240.

† ——————— 2d July, 1784.

‡ Vide Proceedings on the Slave Trade, p. 20.

of delivering it. That the honourable gentleman himself, in *the disorder and embarrassment with which I may speak,* he can discover and collect the force and meaning of what I would express, and if that meaning should appear to him to deserve consideration, he will, in the first place, allow it due weight on his own mind; and then, if he should think fit to answer me, that he will give my arguments the advantage of his own expressions, and encounter them in the armour with which he himself shall have invested them*."

Here then is the admission of a defect, by which the eloquence of JUNIUS would be unable to make an adequate impression on the auditor. Had opportunities been taken in early life to prevent or remove this impediment, the *English* Demosthenes might have more nearly resembled his great prototype. But another reason is assigned by BURKE himself, and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS gives it his sanction by having recorded it, why the eloquence which distinguishes an Essay or Letter could not be felt in an oral address. "*I have heard Edmund Burke say,*" observes Sir PHILIP, "that it was *impossible the political orations of Demosthenes* could have been *intelligible to a popular assembly* in their present *close compact form*†." This is the character of the Letters of JUNIUS: they were

* Mr. FRANCIS's Speech, 7th March, 1786.

† Vide note to FRANCIS's Horace, iii. 312. Edit. 1807.

classed at their first appearance with those Orations:—

> "Rejoiced we see DEMOSTHENES arise
> And his Philippics in thy writings live."

Thus the opinion of Mr. Burke, at another time, while it bears a singular relation to the subject of our present dissertation, serves to explain, not less to our satisfaction than probably to that of Sir PHILIP, the cause of his comparative want of power as an orator. The effect of this condensing habit on the mind of the writer is as fatal to fluent speaking, as the cultivation of oratory is to close composition. And of the latter disadvantage Mr. Fox complained as feelingly as Sir PHILIP FRANCIS does of the former:—*Nihil est ab omni parte beatum.*

That these were the sole reasons why Sir PHILIP did not realize the conception that had been entertained of the eloquence of JUNIUS, is evident from all his corrected speeches, as well as from the extracts which adorn the present volume. He was not indifferent to his future fame. In the whole compass of recorded speeches, there are none in which the *mens divinior, atque os magna sonaturum,* are more apparent than in those which are reported under his name. He seems in this respect to have followed the example of Cicero, with almost equal success, as if he thought that at a future period,

his written orations would be perused with equal admiration.

Closely connected with, and frequently the cause of this defect in elocution, is a constitutional impatience and fervour of disposition. It is impossible to ascertain whether JUNIUS was deficient in the requisites of a perfect orator; but his *irritability* is recorded by an authority from which there is no appeal.

In one of the private Letters to Woodfall this is shewn in a strong light.—"*Surely you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation. At a certain point of time the appetite palls. I fear you have already lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.* BUT I HAVE DONE*."

This warmth of temper is again manifested in one of his Letters to Wilkes respecting the resolutions of the Bill of Rights' Society.—"*You* at least, Mr. Wilkes, should have shewn more temper and prudence, and a better knowledge of mankind. No personal respects whatsoever should have per-

* JUNIUS, i 249. Private Letter to Woodfall.

suaded *you* to concur in these ridiculous resolutions. *But my own zeal, I perceive, betrays me: I will endeavour to keep a better guard upon my temper*, and apply to your judgment in the most cautious and measured language*."

That "*in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable, and impetuous*," is one of the characteristics which "he who cannot produce," says the writer of the Preliminary Essay, "is in vain brought forward as the Author of the Letters of JUNIUS†."

On this subject, Sir PHILIP gives us some reason to believe that he possessed a kindred spirit with our Author. Speaking of his quarrel with Mr. Hastings, he observes, "We are both, I believe, men of *a temper too warm* to be capable of lasting resentments‡. And again in his speech on an inquiry into the conduct of Captain Williams:—

"It was his purpose on this occasion to say things strong, severe, and personal; and if he should be thought to exceed the bounds of moderation, he desired it might not be imputed to a *hasty impatience of temper, to which he was supposed to be more subject than other men;* for he said them coolly and deliberately, and after having maturely

* JUNIUS, i. *277. Private Letter to Wilkes.

† ———, i. *99. Preliminary Essay.

‡ Mr. FRANCIS's Speech, July 29, 1784.

reflected on their cause, and on their consequences *."

Again, when he was accused of placing himself on an equality with the lawyers in matters of legal opinion, he rebuts the charge in the following manner.—" Much has been said of my character, *much of my temper*. I have by one learned gentleman, not now present (the Master of the Rolls), been accused of comparing myself with him, and with others of his profession. Such a comparison I never presumed to make. Arrogance is one thing; *passion is another*. *Passion I have ever conceived to be an honest, open, and manly emotion of the mind:* arrogance, on the contrary, I take to be a cold, deliberate, thoughtful thing. *I may have made use of warm and passionate language* perhaps, but I was never guilty of the presumption and arrogance which has been imputed to me †."

JUNIUS also says, " Forgive this *passionate language*. I am unable to correct it. The subject comes home to us all. It is the language of my heart ‡."

Nothing is more common with men of quick feelings and eager hopes, than a sudden revulsion bordering on despair. *Currente retro funis eat rota.* Were these alternations not perceptible in the writ-

* Mr. FRANCIS's Speech, Parliamentary Debates, xxvii. 240.

† ——————, February 26, 1788.

‡ JUNIUS, ii. 344, signature, JUNIUS.

ings of JUNIUS, I should still infer their existence, from the ardour he displays on those subjects which interest him. But we have positive evidence, which renders all conjecture unnecessary. In a letter to his printer, JUNIUS says, "I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct, to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration*." After this his zeal returns, and he pursues his object with redoubled energy. Yet again he relapses into his former discontent.—"What an abandoned, prostituted ideot is your Lord Mayor! The shameful mismanagement which brought him into office, gave me the first *and an unconquerable disgust*†." His last letter is in the same strain.—"I *meant*‡ the *cause* and *the public*. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and

* JUNIUS, i. *173. Private Letter to Woodfall.

† ——, i. *250. Ditto.

‡ FRANCIS.—"If we *really mean the public service*; if we mean to save Colonel Goddard's army, and to provide for the security of the Company's possessions, let us not obstinately shut our eyes to the evidence before us." (*Minute, 11th Jan.* 1779. *No.* 166. *App. to Sixth Report.*)

JUNIUS.—"It is time for those who *really mean the Cause and the People.*" (ii. 345.)

stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible."

The same oscillation between confidence and despondency is visible on the part of JUNIUS, through the whole of his correspondence with Woodfall. That Sir PHILIP was also subject to the law of repulsion as well as of attraction might be expected, but it forms too prominent a feature in his character, to be overlooked. Every thing that has been written proves it to have constituted the ordinary process of his mind: the traces are discernible no less in the minutes which record his opinions in India, than in his late pamphlet on Paper Currency. From the former we shall select a few examples, one of which concludes in the words of that passionate Letter to Woodfall, quoted at page 155.

"I believe no man living will seriously attribute to me the character of a determined and inveterate adversary of the British nation. It is well known to every man in India, that if Mr. Wheler's advice, and mine, for these three years past had been regarded, or if our unremitted efforts had availed any thing, this government would not have been in the distressing situation to which it is reduced by a series of other measures, adopted and pursued in opposition to our sentiments. *But I have done* with controversy*."

* 2d October, 1780. App. No. 33, Article 2.

"I shall give the Board no *farther trouble* on this question, *nor perhaps on any other.* I am too sensible that it is giving both them and myself a very *useless trouble**."

"I will not, my Lord, add a useless apology to the trouble I have already given you. If the contents of this letter should not justify the length of it, I have nothing to plead but the same *error of judgment which has uniformly governed my conduct*, and from which no *man has hitherto suffered* any *thing but myself*†."

Other examples will strike the reader's mind as we proceed; but the passage alluded to, from "Paper Currency," is too much in the style and tone of JUNIUS's final Letter to Woodfall to be omitted.

"Not long ago an opportunity came of itself, of stating some new opinions of my own on the subject of a reform in the House of Commons, to a member of Parliament, of whose integrity no man can be better satisfied than I am. I took the liberty of saying to him,—'Sir, do whatever you think right, for its own sake, and never look to popularity for support or reward. Honest fame will follow you, if you deserve it. *The very people whom you serve, may be turned at any moment*

* 8th September, 1777. App. No. 72, Article 2.

† Letter to Lord North, 1777, p. 83.

against you, by a cry, or a signal, and run you down for your pains. Your own hounds, any fine morning, had as lief hunt the huntsman as the hare. As to parliamentary reform, I have tried it enough to be convinced that it never can be adopted on any sound principle, that could at once be safe in its operation, and effective to its purpose. The people are well enough represented. The milk throws up the cream. No change in the form will mend the materials. I am sure you will find it, as I have done, a vain attempt to build Grecian temples with brickbats and rubbish." P. 47.

Another remarkable peculiarity, wherein the character of Sir PHILIP bears out the general idea entertained of JUNIUS, is in the circumstance of his connection with the *sister country.* It has been repeatedly asserted ever since the first appearance of the Letters, that the Author "must necessarily have been of Irish descent or Irish education*," and on that account Mr. Burke was the more generally suspected. While the editor of the last edition of JUNIUS gives his opinion against this supposition, he acknowledges that it was entertained by those "who have critically analyzed the style†," of JUNIUS. Whatever may be

* JUNIUS, i. p. 88. Preliminary Essay.

† ——, Ditto.

doubted is unworthy of much notice; but I think that traces of this kind are plainly visible, and it is curious to see how the slightest peculiarities are explained by the life of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The memoirs inform us that he "was *born in Dublin*, on the 22d of October, 1740, old style;" —that "he received the *first elements of his education* under Thomas Ball, who succeeded Dr. Dunkin (names well known in Ireland), and who kept a school in Ship Street. *In the beginning of 1750 he came to England.*

Here then we find just that degree of connection with Ireland, which was likely to give a slight characteristic tinge, but no decided nationality, to the expressions of the Author. A youth who acquired no more than the rudiments of learning in his native country, and who quitted it altogether when he was *ten years old*, however he might overcome the habits of his youth, would still find it difficult to forget entirely the phraseology with which he was first familiar. In all his compositions, JUNIUS laboured excessively to make his style pure and classical, yet rich in English idiom; and he generally succeeded. But in the Miscellaneous Letters are still to be found many oversights: that they were partly owing to the cause now mentioned, is at least a probable conjecture; and it serves in some measure to explain the reason of that *labor limæ*, which to many persons has

appeared so much beyond the necessity of the case.—In the use of the word *collegian,* he differs so much from the custom of the English universities, that he could not have received his education there; and on this ground Malone advances one of his arguments against concluding Hamilton to be JUNIUS:—"Having been educated at the university of Oxford, he never would have used the term COLLEGIAN, for an academic or a gownsman*." The word, however, is proper in Dublin, in which university Dr. FRANCIS received his education, and took his degree. Sir PHILIP would, therefore, be very likely to adopt the expression: it would be first suggested to him by the example of his father; and the impression thus made not being afterwards effaced, it would most naturally fall in his way whenever an occasion offered.

But the employment of this word, besides giving rise, among other instances, to the suspicion that JUNIUS was a native of Ireland, also corroborates the general opinion that he was not educated at an English university. This, indeed, he almost acknowledges in one of his Letters to Sir W. Draper:—An *academical education* has given *you* an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech." And the same inference may

* Parliamentary Logic, Preface, xxxiii.

be drawn from a sentence in one of his Letters to Horne:—"This *may* be logic at *Cambridge**." Yet his Letters abound with classical allusions and quotations, and he seems in no respect defective in scholastic attainments.

Of a character perfectly similar, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS is an acknowledged scholar, without having studied at either university. There is in all his writings a frequent and happy reference to the Greek and Roman authors, but especially to the latter; and in Horace he has proved himself a very sound and ingenious critic. To the tuition of so profound and elegant a scholar as Dr. FRANCIS, may be ascribed this familiarity with the works of the ancients: and the advantages afforded him in this respect, would amply supply, if they did not surpass, those which are usually met with in a college education.

Even in externals the resemblance between Sir PHILIP FRANCIS and JUNIUS is remarkably perfect. The *stature* of the latter may be ascertained from a perusal of his Letters. It is the custom only of tall men to attach, very commonly, the epithet "*little*" to those whom they are inclined to treat with disrespectful freedom. We seldom find one of a middle size guilty of this; it too nearly

* JUNIUS, ii. 315. Signature, JUNIUS.

concerns himself: if he employs the term, it either loses its force, or recoils upon him with an unpleasant effect. The slightest observation will confirm the above remark. If then in JUNIUS we see the word *little* assigned to many different individuals, we may conclude that the person of the writer was of an opposite description. Should it appear that this is a habit in which he *frequently* indulges; and that some individuals, not much, if any thing, below the common standard, are thus distinguished; we may judge by the same rule, that the denominator was himself a taller man than ordinary.

To this class JUNIUS most certainly belongs. His liberal sprinkling of the *inglorious* attribute among those who had the honour of his notice, may be collected from the following examples.

"I don't so much question Mr. Hervey's being able to give good advice, as that *other little man's* being either willing or able to follow it*;" alluding to Lord Barrington, who is again styled "*my little lord*†."

Mr. Chamier is scarcely ever mentioned but as *little* Shammy—a tight, active *little* fellow—a *little* gambling broker—*little* Waddlewell—*little* 3 per

* JUNIUS, iii. 279, signature, TESTIS.

† ———, iii. 449, signature, SCOTUS.

cents reduced—a wonderful *Girgishite*—*little* whiffling broker, &c. &c*.

Mr. Ellis is a *little* piece of machinery—*little* Ellis—*little mannikin* Ellis†—"WELBORE ELLIS, WHAT SAY YOU‡?—Speak out *Grildrig*§.

This presumptive proof that JUNIUS was himself a tall man, receives strength from the following description of his person, extracted from a note in the last Edition of the Letters.

"Mr. Jackson, the present respectable proprietor of the Ipswich Journal, was at this time in the employment of the late Mr. Woodfall, and he observed to the Editor, in September last, *that he once saw a* TALL *gentleman dressed in a light coat, with bag and sword,* throw into the office door opening in Ivy Lane, a Letter of JUNIUS's which he picked up: and immediately followed the bearer of it into St. Paul's Church-yard, where he got into a hackney coach, and drove off||." This was certainly the conveyancer if not the Author of the Letters: and the anecdote is the more entitled to

* JUNIUS, iii. 425, signature, VETERAN.

† ———, ii. 129. Note by JUNIUS.

‡ This curious interrogative occurs in one of Sir PHILIP's latest publications.—"ABRAHAM, WHAT SAY YOU? Quid ais, *dulcissime rerum?*" *(Paper Currency, p.* 40.)

§ ———, ii. 239, signature, PHILO-JUNIUS.

|| JUNIUS, i. 43. Preliminary Essay.

attention, because the figure of the gentleman agrees with that idea of his person which JUNIUS had led us to conceive.

Some persons are inclined to dwell on these particulars more than on moral evidence—*formam aliquam figuramque quærebant*. I confess that I am inclined to place dependance upon Mr. Jackson's testimony, and should have felt dissatisfied in no slight degree, had it not been perfectly reconcileable with my opinion of the Author. Sir PHILIP FRANCIS *resembles, in person,* the gentleman seen by Mr. Jackson. For the satisfaction of those who have never seen Sir PHILIP, his portrait is prefixed to this volume, in confirmation of our statement. The original picture, painted by Lonsdale, was copied by the engraver of the present, in the plate to the Monthly Mirror for May, 1810.

I know not in what *costume* Sir PHILIP usually appeared at the time the Letters were written, but from the fashion of the time, and his rank, and age, it could not be very different from that which Mr. Jackson describes.

On the *character* of the portrait we may speculate with greater certainty. Though physiognomy is not always to be depended on, yet when the countenance seems the mirror of the mind, we acknowledge the accordance with pleasure, and feel the force of it on the general question. Let the reader endeavour to recollect the characteristics of

JUNIUS, so as to conceive them visibly embodied, and he will not be able to form a better picture in his imagination than the one before him. It is a most correct portrait of Sir PHILIP, and highly expressive of his countenance and spirit.

CHAPTER XI.

We have hitherto been occupied with the statement and discussion of *circumstances* proving that Sir Philip Francis was Junius. The course of our investigation now leads us to consider the *opinions* they mutually held on several important subjects, which species of agreement, though subordinate in point of proof to the more direct evidence before detailed, is yet capable of adding greatly to the force of our argument.

But though we profess to have departed from the relation of plain, indisputable facts, it will be seen that many such are to be arrived at through the medium of recorded opinions. Of this kind is the proof which we now submit to the reader, that Sir Philip Francis was "acquainted with English judicature," in a degree sufficient for the Author of Junius's Letters, though, *like the latter, not a lawyer by profession;* and what is a more decided bond of union between the two, that the sentiments Sir Philip entertained respecting the *profession of the law*, and *those who practise it*, were perfectly in unison with the declarations of Junius.

In that fine speech on the murder of Mustapha Cawn, " Mr. FRANCIS, addressing himself to the Crown Lawyers, observed, that whereas it had been urged by them that penal statutes ought to be construed strictly, he fully assented to that proposition; but he insisted that the learned gentlemen did not adhere to their own rule, when they maintained that the present case did not fall within the intent and meaning of the statute of the 33d of Henry the 8th. This statute says, '*all* murders within the king's dominions or *without*' not a word of British subjects. • What right have the lawyers to say that none but British subjects were intended? What right have they to a particular construction of general words? Is not the killing a foreigner as much a murder as any other? But it is said, that no man has yet been tried for the murder of a man under that statute. Perhaps in fact it may be so. Perhaps the case never occurred. But does it follow that because you may never have had the same occasion which you have now to resort to this statute, you may not resort to it when the case occurs? It could not in the nature of things be a statute much in common use. There was another statute of the 28th of the same king against piracy, the words of which were exactly the same with that of the 33d. Yet under that of the 28th, William Townsend had been tried at the Admiralty Sessions on the 1st of No-

vember, 1781, for the murder of Gerrardo Silvestrino, master of a Venetian ship, about 70 leagues from Cape St. Vincent, and stated in the indictment to be in the dominions of Portugal; and for this murder of a foreigner, on the *high* seas, *without* the king's dominions, the murderer had been convicted and executed. He *challenged the lawyers* to state, if they could, any difference between the two statutes as to the point in question. The Attorney General had asked, with great gravity, how would it be possible for him to frame the indictment; how could he insert in it those essential words, 'against the peace of our sovereign lord the King?' and this had been insisted on as a grand insurmountable difficulty. *Unlearned as he was, he would undertake to give those learned persons the information they wanted.* First then he informed them that those words, though usual, were not necessary in an indictment. *Had they ever heard of Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown?* He understood it was a book of great authority. *Would they listen to it? would they suffer their learning to bend to it?* The words of Hawkins are, 'It hath been *adjudged* not to be necessary in an indictment of death, to alledge that the person killed was in the peace of God and of our Lord the King, &c. though such words are commonly put into indictments; for they are not words of substance.' As to the clause that the act done was

against the peace of the King, the same author says that 'there are four precedents without it in Coke's Entries, two of them for different homicides, and that *Rastal's Precedents*, both of indictments of felony, and of inferior offences, do as often omit the words *contra pacem*, as make use of them.'"

"Nevertheless," said Mr. FRANCIS, "if the Attorney General still thinks that the words *against the peace of the King* are indispensable, *I take it upon me to inform him*, that they may be made use of, not only without violence to, but in the fairest construction of the statute. Every thing created by that statute for the trial of murders committed *without* the king's dominions is founded on a legal fiction, a wise, a useful, and a salutary fiction of the law, for securing the great end of justice; namely, that the crime, though in fact committed on the other side of the globe, was supposed and taken to be committed in some county of England. This was the direct and avowed fiction of the law itself: but the moment it was admitted that the act in question was done in a county of England, it followed of course, it was a consequence unavoidable, that the crime was against the peace of the King, and all the pretended difficulty about framing the indictment was annihilated."

* * * * * *

"Mr. FRANCIS concluded with saying, that

as to the present case, he had done enough and would do no more. If the world should be of opinion that the cause of public justice is deserted, let it rest with the great inquest of the nation, which refuses to inquire. Let it rest with the executive government, which refuses to execute the laws. Let it rest with the law officers of the crown, who are bound, *ex officio*, to inform against crimes. *They who have the power are vested with the trust. Their duty is implied in their station.* They have no right to expect that individuals should perform it for them. The fate of the motion I see is decided. Nothing is left for me but to lament, as I do with the deepest concern, that it should be in the power of *so very little law*, to get the better of so many motives of policy, justice, and benevolence, as belong to the present question, and have been urged in support of it without the shadow of a reply*."——

"In the course of this night the House would hear abundance of legal and technical argument, *more likely to perplex than to enlighten their minds*; he therefore humbly recommended to those gentlemen, who, *like himself, were not learned*, to ask their own understanding what was reasonable, to ask their own conscience what was just, and leave it to *the learned profession to prove, if they could*, that

* Parliamentary Debates, xxvii. 350.

that which was *neither just nor reasonable*, might nevertheless be *perfectly legal**."——

"*It belongs to the learning of these gentlemen to involve, and to their prudence not to decide.*"

"*In the name of God and common sense, what have we gained by consulting these learned persons!* It is really a strange thing, but it is certainly true, that the learned gentlemen on that side of the House, let the subject be what it may, always begin their speeches with a panegyric on their own integrity. You expect learning, and they give you morals; you expect law, and they give you ethics; you ask them for bread, and they give you a stone. In point of honour and morality they are undoubtedly on a level with the rest of mankind. But *why should they pretend to more? Why should they insist on taking the lead in morality? Why should they so perpetually insist upon their integrity;* as if that were the objection *in limine;* as if that were the point in question; as if that *were the distinguishing characteristic, the prominent feature of the profession.* Equality is their right. I allow it. But that they have any just pretensions to a superior morality, *to a pure, and elevated probity, to a frank, plain, simple, candid, unrefined integrity,* beyond other men, is what I am not convinced of, and never will admit.

* Parliamentary Debates, xvii. 249.

"On *my* principles, however, the damage we have suffered is not very great. In attending to this learned gentleman *we have lost nothing but our time; we have wasted nothing but our patience.* The question before us may easily and can only be determined by ourselves *."

From these extracts, in which every critic will recognize the mind and language of JUNIUS, it would appear that Sir P. FRANCIS entertained none of that profound respect for the opinions of lawyers, which, in some men operates to the exclusion of any appeal to their own understandings. How well this indifference for professional opinions accords with the sentiments of JUNIUS must be obvious to all who are acquainted with his writings. But we select a few examples.

"*As a practical profession, the study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities. The learning of a pleader is usually upon a level with his integrity. The indiscriminate defence of right and wrong contracts the understanding while it corrupts the heart.* Subtlety is soon mistaken for wisdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be any instances upon record, as some there are undoubtedly, of *genius and morality united in a lawyer*, they are distinguished by their *singularity*, and operate as *exceptions*†."

* Parliamentary Debates, xxiii 431.

† JUNIUS, ii. 412. Signature, JUNIUS.

"*I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend** *to be more deeply read than every Englishman should be in the laws of his country.* If, therefore, the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law. *I speak to the plain understanding of the people, and appeal to their honest, liberal construction of me* †."

"*Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer.* I had as lief be a Scotchman. It is the encouragement given to disputes about titles which has supported that *iniquitous profession* at the expense of the community ‡."

To Lord Mansfield he says: "Learned as you are and quick in apprehension, few arguments are necessary to satisfy you, that you have done that which by law you were not warranted to do. Your conscience already tells you that you have sinned against knowledge, and that whatever defence you make contradicts your own internal conviction. *But other men are willing to take the law upon trust. They rely upon authority, because they are too indo-*

* Sir PHILIP has the same cast of expression:—"*I am not a merchant, nor do I pretend* to any great skill in mercantile affairs, but this I know, &c. (*Vide Parl. Deb.* xxxviii. 155.)

† JUNIUS, i. 11, Preface.

‡ ——, i. 312, Private Letter to Wilkes.

*lent to search for information; or conceiving that there is some mystery in the laws of their country which lawyers are only qualified to explain, they distrust their judgment, and voluntarily renounce the right of thinking for themselves**."

"As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it *necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question*†."

Many passages in the Letters of JUNIUS, besides that wherein he affirms the fact, prove that he was no lawyer by profession. Among these, one of the most decisive is that in which he requests the assistance of Wilkes to tell him where "the *formal legal* argument lies‡."

As early as December, 1770, it appears that he was expecting to receive some assistance from Mr. Wilkes:—"Why don't I hear from Guildhall? If he trifles with me, he shall hear of it.' And might he not derive, if it was necessary, legal advice through other similar channels? It seems to me that an error has generally prevailed, in the belief that he was so completely shut out of

* JUNIUS, ii. 408, signature, JUNIUS.

† ———, i. *498, signature, PHILO-JUNIUS.

‡ ———, i. *287. Private Letter to Wilkes.

society, *as Junius*, that he could not ask an opinion of any one. He corresponded with Wilkes for some time by the intervention of a chairman and the printer; and he also received through the medium of Woodfall several other communications. At one time a pamphlet was submitted to his inspection, which from its size may be supposed to have been in manuscript:—"That *large roll* contained a pamphlet." And to come nearer to our present topic, JUNIUS undoubtedly did receive professional assistance in his celebrated Letter to Lord Mansfield; else wherefore did he desire *two proofs* to be sent him a fortnight before publication? When that request was not complied with so soon as he expected, he observes, "Your failing to send me the proofs, disappoints and distresses me extremely. It is not merely to correct the press (though even that is of consequence), but for another most *material purpose*. This will be entirely defeated if you do not let me have the *two proofs* on Monday morning. *** *If you have any regard for me, or for the cause*, let nothing hinder your sending the *proofs* on Monday*." The editor of the last edition in supposing that the Author had a "promise or expectation of legal assistance from some friendly quarter," is therefore correct.—This, however, does

* JUNIUS, i. *243. Private Letter to Woodfall.

not prove that more than one person was directly concerned in the Letters; since he who could secretly correspond with Wilkes, might as easily find means to gain from another the legal information which he wanted.

But without entering further into these particulars, we may conclude that on the subject of law and lawyers, the identity between JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP is too clear to admit of any difference of opinion. That dislike to special-pleading distinctions,—to "the insolence of office,"—and to the pretence of an exclusive right in lawyers to determine whatever comes within the verge of a legal question,—that display of a considerable knowledge of the law both in practice and theory, in one who is not a lawyer,—and that confidence with which each reposes on his own judgment,—are features which give the character so peculiar an aspect, as to distinguish it from every other.

It will terminate this chapter with a quotation in point, and still further illustrate the independent spirit of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, if we give, from his speech on Mr. Pitt's India Bill, the passage alluded to by his biographer, in which he defends himself from the attacks of Lord Chancellor Thurlow.

"He had now gone through the second division of the bill. Before he proceeded to the third,

he had an appeal to make to the honour and to the justice of the House. It was of a nature so personal, that it would probably excite their curiosity; but it was also connected with the public service. It had a natural and a necessary relation to the general object of the present bill, and therefore deserved their attention. It concerned the service of the public in future, that the character of men, who had faithfully and honourably discharged the duties of a high station, should be protected from reproach. The insults offered to the memory of such men, contributed to deter others from following their example,—were injurious to the community,—and ought to be resented with universal indignation. It was not of himself he spoke;—that spirit of presumption did not belong to him. He was proud of the fortune that connected his name and united his labours with those of Clavering and Monson, and it was all the distinction he pretended to. When he sought to obtain a seat in the House of Commons, it was not merely for the honour of sitting there, nor for any delight he took in the debates. With respect to India affairs, his first view was, not to serve England or the India Company, but, the natives of India, if he could. To them he was bound by every obligation of justice, gratitude, and compassion. From them he received the salary, which gave him a fortune. But, even if the ser-

'vice of England had been his only object, this is the course he should have taken to pursue it. I will not," said Mr. FRANCIS, " appeal to your virtues, or suppose that you have any. If you have common sense,—if, as interested men, you understand your own interest, you will treat the creatures subject to your power with lenity and justice. If wealth be your object, you will protect the industry, you will nurse and cherish the estate by which you expect to be enriched.

" His second reason for obtaining a seat in parliament was to have an opportunity of explaining his own conduct, if it should be questioned, or defending it, if it should be attacked. The last, and not the least urgent reason was, that he might be ready to defend the character of his colleagues, not against specific charges, which he was sure would never be produced, but against the language of calumny, which endeavoured to asperse, without daring to accuse. It was well known that a gross and public insult had been offered to the memory of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, by a person of high rank in this country. He was happy when he heard that his name was included in it with theirs. So highly did he respect the character of those men, that he deemed it an honour to share in the injustice it had suffered. It was in compliance with the forms of the House, and not to shelter himself, or

out of tenderness to the party that he forbore to name him. He meant to describe him so exactly, that he could not be mistaken. He declared in his place in a great assembly, and in the course of a grave deliberation, "that it would have been happy for this country if General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, had been drowned in their passage to India." If this poor and spiteful invective had been uttered by a man of no consequence or repute, by any light, trifling, inconsiderate person, by a lord of the bed-chamber, for example, or any of the other *silken* barons of modern days*, he should have heard it with indifference. But when it was seriously urged and deliberately insisted on by a grave lord of Parliament—by a judge—by a man of ability and eminence in his profession, whose personal disposition was serious, who carried gravity to sternness, and sternness to ferocity, it could not be received with indifference, or answered without resentment. Such a man would be thought to have inquired before he pronounced. From his mouth a reproach was a sentence, an invective was a judgment. The accidents of life, and not any original distinction that he knew of, had placed him too high, and himself at too great a distance from him, to admit of any other answer than a public defiance, for General Clavering,

* JUNIUS. "When the bloody Barrington, that *silken*, fawning courtier at St. James's," &c. (iii. 431.)

for Colonel Monson, and for himself. This was not a party question, nor should it be left to so feeble an advocate as he was to support it. The friends and fellow soldiers of General Clavering and Colonel Monson would assist him in defending their memory. He demanded and expected the support of every man of honour in that House, and in the kingdom. What character was safe, if slander was permitted to attack the reputation of two of the most honourable and virtuous men that ever were employed, or ever perished in the service of their country? He knew that the authority of this man was not without weight; but he had an infinitely higher authority to oppose to it. He had the happiness of hearing the merits of General Clavering and Colonel Monson acknowledged and applauded in terms to which he was not at liberty to do more than to allude: they were rapid and expressive. He must not venture to repeat, lest he should do them injustice, or violate the forms of respect, where essentially he owed and felt the most. But he was sufficiently understood. The generous sensations that animate the royal mind, were easily distinguished from those which rankled in the heart of that person who was supposed to be the keeper of the royal conscience*."

These "observations," we are told, "were de-

* Mr. FRANCIS'S Speech, July 16, 1784.

livered in the true spirit of a philippic, and with a *fury*, which, considering the relative situation of the parties, astonished every body." They remind us of the attacks which JUNIUS made on LORD MANSFIELD, and render perfect one of the most remarkable parallels for sentiment and conduct, that has been produced on any subject.

CHAPTER XII.

THE reader is now desired to mark the positive agreement between Sir PHILIP FRANCIS and JUNIUS, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform.

In the first place, consistently with JUNIUS's recommendation, Sir PHILIP was very active in founding a distinguished *constitutional club;* and secondly, the *principles* he entertained, and those which this club supported, were the same which JUNIUS insisted on throughout his Letters.

The society of the *Friends of the People* owed, in a great measure, its origin to Sir PHILIP. He had the principal share in drawing up its address and declaration; and he continued to the last one of its firmest supporters. His own words confirm this, in his vindication of that society from the misrepresentations of Mr. Burke, who accused the *Friends of the People* of uniting with the "Constitutional Society" in support of *annual Parliaments* and *universal suffrage.*

"We are accused in violent terms of uniting with parties with whom we have no communication; and of supporting principles, and abetting

factions, which *we have renounced in the strongest terms* that the English language could suggest. *I had some share in the construction of the declaration and address;* and surely I am, or ought to be, a competent judge of the true intent and meaning of those papers. Unless I have lived to these years without understanding my native tongue, I may safely challenge the most acute and malignant observer to point out a single sentence, or even a word, to justify the atrocious charges brought against us. You look for our principles not in our declarations, but in the supposed views and projects of other men, whose views and projects, if any such exist, we have expressly renounced and disclaimed. As to the object we avow, we may or may not succeed in it. On that point I am not sanguine: but I am perfectly sure that they who have recourse to mere calumny and invectives, have not taken the best method to defeat us*."

Whether JUNIUS would have assisted in the establishment of such a society as that of *The Friends of the People*, we may ascertain from the following observation. In one of his private Letters to Wilkes, after censuring the vanity and folly of the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*, he declares, "I am far from meaning to undervalue the *insti-*

* Speech, April 30, 1792.

tution of the Society. On the contrary, I think the plan was admirable; that it has already been of signal service to the public, and may be of much greater; and *I do most earnestly wish, that you would consider of and promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs all through the kingdom. A measure of this kind would alarm government more, and be of more essential service to the cause, than any thing that can be done relative to new-modelling the House of Commons.* You see then that my objections are directed to the particular measure, not to the general institution*."

The society of the *Friends of the People* was not only formed on the foundation recommended by JUNIUS, but from him it seems to have derived its *name*. On the subject of dissensions in the Bill of Rights' Society, he thus addresses the public.—"No man laments more sincerely than I do, the unhappy differences which have arisen among the *friends of the people*, and divided them from each other." Thus twenty years before the institution of a society under that title, we find its designation in the Letters; and though it was undoubtedly possible that any other person might have conceived a similar title, or have adopted it from the passage here quoted, yet, under all the circumstances, it certainly contributes to identify JUNIUS

* JUNIUS i. 279. Private letter to Wilkes.

with Sir PHILIP FRANCIS—the sponsor with the founder.

With regard to the *plan* of the society of the Friends of the People, two objects were proposed: "First,—To restore the freedom of election, and a *more equal* representation of the people in Parliament; secondly,—To secure to the people a *more frequent* exercise of their right of electing their representatives." Whoever was the author of these two propositions, they are couched in such terms as JUNIUS must have approved. When he condemned the resolutions of the Bill of Rights' Society, it was for their *bulk and style*:—it was because the society *grasp at the impossible and lose the really attainable*;—because, they insist upon "a FULL and EQUAL representation of the people;"—while "the *great condition*, which ought to be the *sine quâ non* of parliamentary qualification, which ought to be the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support, of every barrier raised in defence of the constitution; I mean, 'a declaration upon oath to SHORTEN THE DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS, is reduced to the fourth rank in the esteem of the Society, and, even in that place, far from being insisted on with firmness and vehemence, seems to have been particularly slighted in the expression, *you shall endeavour to restore* ANNUAL *Parliaments**."

* JUNIUS, i. *284.

Whether the objections here urged by JUNIUS were recollected by the "Friends of the People"—or whether he was present at their meetings to renew and enforce them, it is certain that their declaration was *drawn up with a most scrupulous adherence to the sentiments contained in this remonstrance;* and, except that JUNIUS had doubts of the necessity of a reform in the actual construction of the House of Commons, we may add, in perfect consonance with them.

But this difference is scarcely essential. The resolution demands only "a *more equal* representation of the people in Parliament;" and this was not objected to by JUNIUS on principle, for he says to Wilkes, "That the people are not *equally and fully represented is unquestionable.*" And he recommends "Lord Chatham's project of *increasing* the number of knights of shires" as *admirable.* "But," he observes, "let us take care what we attempt. We may demolish the venerable fabric we intend to repair, and where is the strength and virtue to erect a better in its stead? I should not, for my own part, be so much moved at the corrupt and odious practices by which inconsiderable men get into Parliament; nor *even at the want of a perfect representation,* (and certainly nothing can be less reconcileable to the theory than the present practice of the constitution) if means could be found to compel such men to do their duty (in es-

sentials at least) when they *are* in Parliament. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if *shortening the duration of Parliaments*, (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent) be not made the basis of our new parliamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements signify nothing*."

It might be questioned whether, with these principles, JUNIUS would have proposed that first maxim of the Friends of the People, "to restore the freedom of election, and a *more equal representation* of the people in parliament." Not that he had any doubts as to the necessity of restoring the *freedom of election*. It is what he particularly urges upon the people when he sums up his most important advice in the Dedication of the Letters. "I cannot doubt that you will unanimously assert the *freedom of election*, and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives†." He uses the words which are employed by the Society. But as he says nothing at the same time of a *more equal representation*," and as he told Wilkes that he entertained *doubts and apprehensions* on the subject, it may justly be imagined that the Society and JUNIUS were not quite agreed on the latter point; and, consequently, that if Sir PHILIP FRANCIS drew up this declaration of the Society, he differs a little in principle from JUNIUS.—To answer this

* JUNIUS, i. *286. † JUNIUS, i. 4.

objection, we must have recourse to the conduct and opinions of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS at his first entrance into Parliament, from which it will most satisfactorily appear, that he not only *once held the sentiments* which have been shewn to be possessed by JUNIUS, but that he even made a *public retraction of them* more than a year before the Society of the Friends of the People was instituted. This remarkable proof that JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS are the same, is obtained as follows.

Sir PHILIP in his speech on the 30th of April, 1792, says, that he had twice voted against different plans of reform proposed by Mr. Pitt*. To vote

* Mr. Pitt said,—"It was his intention to submit to the House to provide, that the members of a certain number of decayed boroughs should be distributed among the counties. He would take the criterion, by which he should judge what boroughs were decayed, from the number of houses; and this was a mode of judgment which was not liable to error, and which he conceived to be perfectly consistent with the original principle of representation. He should propose that these members should be added to the counties, beginning with those that stood in the greatest need of addition. Such a reform as this was in its nature limited; for if once the standard for the lowest county was fixed, the proportion for all must be the same, and it would be impossible to add more for any one county than the rest. In this view of the business, he imagined the House would agree with him in thinking, that there were about thirty-six boroughs so decayed as to come within the scheme of such an operation. Seventy-two would, therefore, be the number of members to be added to the counties, in such proportion as the wisdom of Parliament might direct, and this number it was his intention to propose should be fixed and unalterable. The operation must be gradual, as he intended that the boroughs should be disfranchised on their own voluntary application to Parliament. Gentlemen must be aware that a voluntary applica-

against a reform bill of any kind is a singular trait in the conduct of so zealous an advocate for the

tion to Parliament was not to be expected without an adequate consideration being given to the boroughs; and he trusted that gentlemen would not start at the idea of such a consideration being provided for. A reform could only be brought about by two means:—by an *act of power*, or by an *adequate consideration* which might induce bodies or individuals to part with rights which they considered as a species of valuable inheritance, or of personal property. To reform by violence he, and he was sensible many others, had an insurmountable objection; but he considered a reform in the representation of the people an object of such value and importance, that he did not hesitate in his own mind to propose, and to recommend to the House, the establishment of a fund for the purpose of purchasing the franchise of such boroughs as might be induced to accept of it under the circumstances which he had mentioned.

"The second part of his plan was to provide, that after the full and final operation of the first proposition, that is, after the extinction of thirty-six boroughs, and the transference of their members to the county representation, if there still should remain any borough so small and so decayed as to fall within the size to be fixed on by Parliament, that such borough should still have it in its power to surrender its franchise on an adequate consideration, and that the right of sending the members to Parliament should be *transferred to such populous and flourishing towns* as might desire to enjoy the right; and that this rule should remain good, and operate in all future time, and be applied to such boroughs as in the fluctuating state of a manufacturing and commercial kingdom might fall into decay in one part of the country, and rise into condition in another. These propositions taken together, comprehended what he conceived to be a final and complete system, and which would ease the minds of gentlemen with respect to any future scheme of reform being attempted or being necessary." (*Speech, April* 18, 1785. *Vide Parl. Deb.* xviii. 51.)—On May 7, 1783, he made his first motion on this subject; it was in principle, though not in extent, the same (*Vide Pitt's Speeches*, i. 51.)

improvement of the representative system: but to oppose a motion in which Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Sawbridge, and many other of his political friends concurred, exhibits a fixed and peculiar principle of action, for the cause of which we must look to the bill itself; and there we discover that it could only proceed, first, from the proposed disfranchisement of certain boroughs by an *act of power* or the offer of an *adequate consideration;* and secondly, from the intention of giving to certain *large towns the right of sending representatives.*

What JUNIUS thought of disfranchising rotten boroughs by an "*act of power,*" may be seen in the observations he made to Wilkes on that subject.

"As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons: yet I own I have both *doubts and apprehensions* in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, *I question the* POWER, *de jure, of the legislature, to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution.* There cannot be a doctrine more fatal to the liberty and property we are contending for, than that which confounds

the idea of a *supreme* and an *arbitrary* legislature. I need not point out to you the fatal purposes to which it has been and may be applied. If we are sincere in the political creed we profess, *there are many things which we ought to affirm cannot be done by King, Lords, and Commons. Among these I reckon the disfranchising a borough with a general view to improvement.* I consider it as *equivalent to robbing the parties concerned of their freehold, of their birth-right.* I say, that although this birth-right may be forfeited, or the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, *it cannot be taken away by a* GENERAL LAW *for any real or pretended purpose of improving the constitution.* I believe there is *no* POWER *in this country* to make such a law*."

His language upon this head is certainly express enough.—Of the manner in which he would have treated the offer of an "*adequate consideration*," we may form an idea from the following passage.

"They [the people] are now to determine for themselves, whether they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights, or make an humble, slavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. *We owe it to our ancestors* to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care: *we owe it to our posterity*, not to suffer their dearest in-

* JUNIUS, i. *288.

heritance to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us: a personal interest, which we *cannot surrender*. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much *more enormous than suicide*, as a life of civil security and freedom is superior to a bare existence; and if life be the bounty of Heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which, the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible*."

The other principle of Mr. Pitt's Reform Bill, was to grant to certain *large towns* the right of sending representatives. On this point, JUNIUS is as explicit as can be wished.

"*I would not*," says he, "*give representatives to those great trading towns which have none at present*. If the merchant and the manufacturer must be *really* represented, let them become freeholders by their industry, and let the representation of the county be increased. You will find the interruption of business in those towns, by the triennial riot and cabals of an election, too dear a price for the nugatory privilege of sending members to parliament†."

* JUNIUS, i. 223.

† ——, i. *290. Private Letter to Wilkes.

Had JUNIUS been a member of the House of Commons at the time Mr. Pitt's plan of reform was introduced, we see from these extracts that he must, like Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, have voted against it. If he afterwards intended to pursue a different course, it would be incumbent on him to retract his former opinions, and to state, publicly, the reasons which produced so great an alteration in his conduct. In these respects JUNIUS himself could not have acted in a more correct or candid manner, than Sir PHILIP appears to have done, from his speech on Mr. Grey's motion for a reform.

Mr. FRANCIS said:—"Sir, we are called upon for protests and declarations. I hope the House will indulge me with one minute of their attention, to receive mine among the rest, and the rather, *as I have something to retract*, as well as something to declare. Sir, I never can bend my mind before any human superiority, so much as to admit that any man in this country, let his rank and fortune, let his family and connections be what they may, can have a dearer pledge, a more heart-felt interest than I have, in the prosperity and happiness, in the peace and good government of the kingdom. I said I had a retraction to make. To persevere firmly in a system or opinion once adopted, is a good presumptive proof of sincerity; but there may still be a better. It is possible to profess, but hardly possible to retract an opinion, from any

motive but conviction. To give your retraction its character of sincerity, it must be honourably declared, it must be publicly and deliberately avowed, with the reasons that belong to it. One would think, Sir, from the way in which the idea of a parliamentary reform has been treated, that the thing had never been thought of; that the name of it had never been mentioned in this House; that it appeared now, for the first time, a perfect and absolute novelty in the minds of men. Yet since I have sat in parliament, it has happened to me *twice to give my vote against different plans of reform introduced by that right honourable gentleman,* who now treats the very idea of reform of any kind not only as too criminal and extravagant to be encouraged by any rational mind, but as if, in fact, it had never occurred to his own. 'The part I took on those occasions, was rather negative than affirmative. I was guided by the natural influence of respectable authority; by plausibilities and *doubts*; by possibilities and *apprehensions*;* but above all, I myself doubted, and therefore I stood still. I refrained from action, as all men ought to do, who are not sure they are acting right. My present opinion is positive, and for that reason is a proper ground of action. It has been taught me by re-

* These are the words of JUNIUS on the same subject: "I own I have both *doubts* and *apprehensions,* in regard to the remedy you propose."—Letter to Wilkes.

flection, and inculcated on my mind by the best of all instructors, *my own experience.* It is the view and contemplation of doctrines and principles introduced from day to day, and of transactions in *the last and present parliament,* which have *removed my doubts of the necessity of a reform in the actual construction of the House of Commons;* doctrines, new and dangerous; principles, false and destructive; transactions, ruinous and disgraceful; all which I saw encouraged and propagated, instead of being condemned, as they ought to be. My opinion has been deliberately formed on the evidence of facts and my own observation, and never shall yield to clamour or to numbers, or to any other influence but that of conviction*."

Were it not for this express renunciation of a previous opinion, it might be said that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS never entertained *any doubts of the necessity of a reform in the actual construction of the House of Commons,* and consequently that there was some difference on this subject between his sentiments and those of JUNIUS, who certainly had his doubts. Fortunately, however, for our present purpose, the opposition which Sir PHILIP states himself to have made to Mr. Pitt's motion, proves not only that at a former period he thought somewhat differently from what he did at that time, but also that the principles which he formerly

* Parliamentary Debates, xxxii. 495.

acted upon, being directly contrary to those of Mr. Pitt, were, of necessity, precisely similar to those which were maintained by JUNIUS.

But this alteration in his sentiments did not take place until he *had sat in Parliament, and had* SEEN *the necessity of a reform in its actual construction.* Even then it was confined to a *more equal* representation of the people, without any bias towards *universal* representation.

How firmly Sir PHILIP was attached to the *triennial* system, we may learn by his emphatic reprobation of *annual Parliaments,* which, with the doctrine of universal suffrage, he "renounced in the *strongest terms that the English language could suggest.*" Equally decided was the preference which JUNIUS gave to the *triennial* over the annual plan. "Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation, by arguments to *my* understanding unanswerable, that they ought to *insist upon a triennial* and *banish the idea of an annual Parliament**."— Thus, even on that very peculiar opinion which has formed a stumbling-block to many conjectures, and especially to the one which sets up Burke for JUNIUS, the affinity between the latter and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS is quite perfect.

* JUNIUS, i. * 284.

But not to exclude any friend of reform by too strict a declaration of his own sentiments, the articles in which Sir PHILIP took a principal share were drawn up in *general terms*, viz. to secure a *more frequent* exercise of the right of election. And here again we perceive the hand of JUNIUS.—"I would advise, that this part of the declaration be expressed in general terms; viz. to *shorten* the *duration* of Parliaments. This mediating expedient will for the present, *take in both opinions* [*annual* and *triennial*], and leave open the *quantum of time* to a future discussion." Can any parallel be more complete? The subject embraces many minor points of doctrine; numbers differ on the general view; scarcely any two persons think alike in the detail; and one of those before us changed both his principles and practice; yet in every minute particular, whether action or opinion be regarded, he is proved to have possessed the identical mind of JUNIUS.

CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER so complete an exposition of the political opinions of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS as the preceding chapter contains, it may be thought that this portion of our subject might have been safely left without further comment or elucidation. But Sir PHILIP having declared his own sentiments on a few other special points, which at once bring him in contact with the Letters, we shall prefer noticing these, before we proceed to illustrate our subject by other resemblances.

As it is perhaps the most important topic in regard to a comparison with JUNIUS, our first quotation from Sir PHILIP FRANCIS will contain his opinion of the right of Great Britain to tax America. The question, of course, could not come before him in the way of direct discussion, but it received due consideration in his speech, April 11, 1796, for improving the situation of slaves in the colonies. He was opposed, as he states it, on the ground, that "the Parliament of Great Britain *have no right* to legislate for the West India islands, particularly if any act of that power should

involve the *effect of taxation*, though the produce or the effect should operate *solely where it was created*, and no way to the benefit of Great Britain." Sir PHILIP argues to the contrary of this doctrine; and conceiving the case of America would be appealed to, endeavours to obviate any objections that might be drawn from her example. His introductory words are so perfectly accordant with the character of JUNIUS, as almost to declare his identity.

"This part of the question is *not new to me*. What I know of it is derived not only from study and reflection, as deep as I am capable of giving to any subject, but from the wisdom of great men whom I have known, and from the experience of events which have happened within my own time. Though too young to take part, *I was old enough to observe*, and I *had access to some of the greatest sources of instruction*. How far I may have been able to avail myself of these advantages must be determined by others. The power, which I mean to resort to, for carrying this plan into effect, is that of the British Parliament over the colonies of Great Britain. No man is fairly at issue with me who does not distinctly deny that power. Is there a statesman in this House, is there an individual of any rank or consideration here, who will take it upon himself, directly and plainly, to maintain that denial, or in other words to affirm, that *in no case*

whatever has the British Parliament a right to make laws to bind the British Colonies? I cannot believe it. But if there be, let him come forward and declare himself. On that question, inconsiderable as I am, and bold as it may appear, I am ready to meet him in front, to shew that he knows nothing of the *principles of legislation*, of the *policy of states*, or of the *duties of government*, and to make him, for his ignorance at least, the *scorn and contempt of mankind*. If he admits that cases may possibly exist, in which the power may be necessary, and the right undisputed, I then shall have nothing to prove, but that this is eminently a case in point, in which the application of the unquestionable power of Parliament must be resorted to, because no other power on earth is equal to the purpose. I am as ready as any man to allow, or to contend, if it were necessary, that the transcendant power of Parliament to make laws for every part of the British empire, where it has not been formally relinquished, is not, in prudence, to be used on ordinary occasions, when the subordinate powers of legislation can act with equal effect in their several departments. It is a right reserved for great emergencies. To say that it ought to be so reserved, is to acknowledge that it exists. *Without evident necessity, I would neither urge the case, nor agitate the right.* Occasions vary, and prudence must be consulted. But rights are not given

to lie dormant for ever. They have relative duties attached to them. According to the occasion, the right is to be exercised, and the duty to be performed. Necessity alone, if the thing must be done, and if there be no alternative, conveys a right, or stands in the place of it, to act for the general welfare or for the public safety. I shall shew you hereafter how little is to be expected, on this subject, from the power, even if it concurred with the disposition, of the colonial assemblies; and that, by *their* means, a real and effective alteration in the condition of the negroes can never be accomplished. But I have first another argument to maintain, and better ground to stand on. In a former debate, the example of America was held out to deter us from acts which might alienate the West India islands, and drive them to look elsewhere for protection, if not to resistance. At that time, nothing was in question but the abolition of the slave trade. This night you may be sure of hearing the same argument repeated, or rather of seeing the same weapon uplifted to awe your deliberations. Let the question be what it may, they are equally ready with it. If the West India islands would not submit to abolition, how will they endure the interposition of the legislature in any thing that touches their internal government? Such is the language of Englishmen, sitting among us, to the legislative authority of

their country. Let us see with what reason they resort to the example of America. I am as ready to appeal to it as they are. *I know where that fatal question originated. No part of the argument, which divided this country on the merits of the Stamp Act,* or of the events which followed it, *has escaped me.* With all those transactions in my view, I declare now, on the principles, and in the language of Lord Chatham, that I REJOICE THAT AMERICA RESISTED. If this be a concession, these gentlemen are welcome to it. I do not believe it will avail them. I rejoice that America resisted with success, because it was a triumph of unquestionable right over outrageous wrong, of courage and virtue over tyranny and force;—because the issue of that contest has provided a refuge and left us an asylum, when existence in Europe, perhaps even in England, can no longer be endured. The nations, crushed by taxes for the support of powers that oppress, or of wars that destroy them, have still the consolation of knowing that peace, and freedom, and plenty, are to be found in America, and that there is still a country in the world, where every man enjoys in security the fruits of his industry, and the produce of his labour. Who is there who can pronounce with certainty, that a period is not approaching when no other refuge may be left us?—On what ground did the Americans first dispute the general legislative authority

of the mother country? Did they assert that a British Parliament had no *right* to bind or to regulate a British colony by its laws, *in any case whatsoever?* Did they ever maintain a proposition so absurd and so monstrous, as that protection gave no claim to obedience; that those duties were not reciprocal; that a nation, *sub tutelâ*, owed no submission to the tutelary power by which it was protected; that the ward owed nothing to the guardian, the pupil to the tutor, the child to the parent;—that such offices were merely nominal, and gave no right to act even for the benefit of the pretended objects of their care? No, Sir, America had too much wisdom for herself, as well as too hearty an attachment to England, to hold such foolish language, or to maintain such dangerous doctrines. See how she has lately acted to some refractory dependencies of her own. The moment such principles prevail, there is an end of all unity of government in the world. In an extended empire, every distant province may set up for itself. Every one of your islands may be an independent state. If I aimed at their destruction, they should have my consent to be so. You would soon see them at your feet with supplication to you to resume your station, and never to relinquish your authority over them. That authority was not disputed by America, until it was extended to purposes unconnected with general regulation, and

exercised on principles, which, if once they were admitted, left no security to the Americans for any thing they possessed. The claim which they resisted, was that of direct taxation by a House of Commons in which they were not represented. They asserted truly, that taxation and representation were inseparable;—that the right grew from the fact, and could not exist without it. In private life the guardian regulates the conduct, and even disposes of the property of the pupil, for his maintenance, for his service, or for his education. But it does not follow, that he may take any part of it for his own use or benefit. The first may be a duty, the second would be a robbery. The protecting power has a claim to obedience, not to money * * *.

"The folly and injustice of this country, by *persisting in a claim of right*, which never could have been *effectually exercised*, and which at last was relinquished, drove the Americans to the necessity of asserting much more than their original pretensions amounted to. They began with petition and remonstrance;—they appealed to the sword, and established their destined independence long before its natural and inevitable period, before they themselves had foreseen or desired it. In the fulness of time, and in the maturity of their state, separation and independence must have been the lot of America. The Herculean infant would ne-

cessarily have burst its cradle, and broken loose from its leading strings: but then the union with the two countries would have continued unimpaired. The mutual relations of kindness and friendship would not have been dissolved *."

The sentiments of JUNIUS on this great question are in every thing similar to those we have just quoted. He listens *without the smallest degree of conviction or assent* " when Lord Chatham affirms, that the authority of the British legislature is *not supreme over the colonies*, in the same sense in which it is supreme over Great Britain †."—" He considers the right of taxing the colonies, by an act of the British legislature, as a *speculative right merely*, never to be *exerted*, nor ever to be *renounced*. To *his* judgment it appears plain, ' That the general reasonings which were employed *against* that power went directly to *our whole legislative right*, and that one part of it could not be yielded without a virtual surrender of all the rest ‡."

An admirer of Lord Chatham, and in principle a thorough anti-gallican, JUNIUS would acknowledge every opinion contained in the following extract from one of Sir PHILIP's speeches.

* Speech, April 11, 1760. *Vide Proceedings on the Slave Trade, p. 55.*

† JUNIUS, ii. 350. ‡ JUNIUS, ii. 393.

"It has been the deliberate policy, not the passion, of England, in all times but those of the House of Stuart, to prefer the friendship of any distant nation to that of France. * * * But now, it seems, we are arrived at a new enlightened era of affection for our neighbours, and of liberality to our enemies, of which our uninstructed ancestors had no conception. The pomp of modern eloquence is employed to blast even the triumphs of Lord Chatham's administration. The polemic laurels of the father, must yield to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of the son. Sir, the first and most prominent feature, in the political character of Lord Chatham, was anti-gallican. His glory is founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the House of Bourbon. The present minister has taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of his son.

"My serious opinion is, that the nearer the two nations are drawn into contact, and the more successfully they are invited to mingle and blend with one another, in the same proportion the remaining morals, principles, and vigour of the national English mind will be enervated and corrupted. We shall be civilised out of our virtues, and polished out of our character. He, whose ultimate purpose is to enslave a free people, always begins

by endeavouring to corrupt them; and whether it be his purpose or not, the road he follows can lead to no other object *."

The next paragraph will remind the reader of the attack made by JUNIUS on Lord Mansfield. Sir PHILIP observes, "That a judge has no right to carry along with him the respect due to his proper station, when he descends to any other. *I will not challenge him*, as long as he maintains the post at which the constitution placed him. But if he accepts of another office, if he takes upon him to *find the facts*, if he *condescends to be a juryman*, he must accept of that office with all its conditions. He has *no claim to the privilege of a judge*, while he does that which no judge in this kingdom ever did before †."

"Your professed object is to create an impartial tribunal. The formation of a jury is so contrived, that it is scarcely possible it should not be impartial. Then *why abandon the forms established for the choice of a jury* ‡?"

JUNIUS says.—"If juries are fallible, *to what other tribunal shall we appeal?* If juries cannot safely be trusted, shall we *unite the offices of judge*

* Speech, 12th February, 1787, against the Commercial Treaty.

† Ibid.

‡ Speech, March 7, 1786.

and jury, so wisely divided by the constitution, and trust implicitly to *Lord Mansfield**?"

In his speech, July 16, 1784, on Mr. Pitt's India bill, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS said:—

"The decision of the question upon the Westminster election, however it might be turned, or in whatever colours it might be dressed, carried you finally and inevitably to this conclusion:—that the people of Great Britain might be governed by laws to which they had not consented, and might be taxed by a House of Commons in which they were not represented. If this was the fact of Westminster to-day, why not of London to-morrow,—of Middlesex the next? On the face of the precedent he saw nothing to confine it."

"He confessed too, that there appeared to him in this business something more injurious and more affecting, than barely the injury that was done. He could not but compare the *stroke that was given*, with the *hand from which it came*. That the resentment excited by an injury, had a natural and necessary relation to the power or the person who did it. If he were a declared enemy, we were not disappointed at any instances of his enmity. We expected nothing but hostility from him, and it was our own fault if he took us by sur-

* JUNIUS, i. *379.

prise. We ought to be constantly upon our guard against him. But if, on the contrary, he were a professed friend, a loudly professing friend; if, for example, *the very hand in which we were told that the people themselves have placed the sword, was lifted against them; if the power employed for their destruction was derived from their confidence*, the common feelings of enmity would then be exasperated by the deepest and bitterest sensations of resentment. With this sense he believed that the whole business of the Westminster scrutiny had been received and felt by the nation at large*."

JUNIUS.—"That the principle on which the Middlesex election was determined, is more pernicious in its effects, than either the levying of ship-money, by Charles the First, or the suspending power assumed by his son, will hardly be disputed by any man who understands or wishes well to the English constitution. It is not an act of open violence done by the king, or any direct and palpable breach of the laws attempted by his minister, that can ever endanger the liberties of this country. Against such a king or minister the people would immediately take the alarm, and all parties unite to oppose him. The laws may be grossly violated in particular instances, without any direct attack upon the whole system. Facts of that kind

* Speech, March 9, 1785.

stand alone; they are attributed to necessity, not defended upon principle. We can never be really in danger until *the forms of parliament are made use of to destroy the substance* of our civil and political liberties;—until parliament itself betrays its trust, by contributing to establish new principles of government, and *employing the very weapons committed to it by the collective body, to stab the constitution**."

The following extract from a speech of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, bears a close resemblance to JUNIUS.

" I well know, Sir, that at sight of any great distress or mismanagement, or abuse in public affairs, the first idea that is apt to present itself to the mind, is that of creating a *dictator*. When I say that this is the first idea that presents itself, I mean that it is not the result of experience and reflection. I will not argue upon the wisdom of such an institution in a political system very different from ours. An arbitrary monarch, or a republic, may perhaps delegate all their power, for a limited time, to one person, with safety and effect. The *dictator* had power of life and death: and I will not undertake to deny, though I am far from meaning to admit, that a remedy of such violence,

* JUNIUS, ii. 116.

if it did not kill, might possibly cure. But remedies of this dangerous vigour are incompatible with our constitution*."

JUNIUS.—"The bravest and freest nations have sometimes submitted to a temporary surrender of their liberties, in order to establish them for ever. At a crisis of public calamity or danger, the prudence of the state placed a confidence in the virtue of some distinguished citizen, and gave him power sufficient to preserve or to oppress his country. Such was the Roman *dictator*; and while his office was confined to a short period, and only applied as a remedy to the disasters of an unsuccessful war, it was usually attended with the most important advantages, and left no dangerous precedent behind†."

Of that valuable institution, the trial by jury, Sir PHILIP speaks in the style and spirit of JUNIUS, in the following passage.

"With respect to all that part of the law which creates an inquisition, which compels the subjects of Great Britain to answer the interrogatories on oath, which endeavours to corrupt the virtues of private life, by promising to make men rich if they turn traitors and informers, and which deprives the subjects of this kingdom of their *great*

* Parliamentary Debates, xix. 380. † JUNIUS, ii. *451.

chartered right, of their *common-law right*, and of their *unalienable birthright*, a *trial by their peers*, my intention is to tear it out of the statute book. *I would erase it if I could from the memory of mankind* *"

Again:—"He never would admit that the *King, Lords, and Commons, had a right* to take the trial by jury *out of the English constitution* †."

JUNIUS, in his care for the same institution, says, "I would have their *right* to return a general verdict in all cases whatsoever, considered *as a part of the constitution*, and no more questionable by the legislature, *than whether the government of the country shall be by King, Lords, and Commons* ‡."

The task of comparing opinions, when all emanate from the same mind, would be endless. We must, therefore, content ourselves with presuming the identity in inferior cases, from perceiving that in all *general principles* Sir PHILIP and JUNIUS exactly concur. And this will sufficiently appear from the following paper, drawn up by Sir PHILIP, in reference to the late Regency question. It was printed in the Monthly Mirror for January, 1811, a work to which we are indebted for much valuable information. The subject is not canvassed by

* Speech, March, 7, 1786. † Parliamentary Debates, xix. 28.
‡ JUNIUS, i. *292.

JUNIUS, but the constitutional doctrines he maintained are, in the abstract, entirely the same.

"REGENCY.

"*There is one ambition at least, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom, which I have received from my ancestors.*—Earl of Chatham, January 9, 1770.

"After the noble speaker of these words, no man has so good a right to make use of them as I have. They express a principle on which I have acted, and I resort to them as my own. In my judgment, every rational man in these kingdoms has as good a right to deliver his opinion on the fundamental principles of the constitution, now brought into question, as any peer or commoner who takes a seat in either of the chambers of Parliament. For myself I might perhaps claim something more from age, from experience, and long unblemished public service; but still more from the school I was bred in, and from the society of many eminent men whom I have had the honour to live with, and the misfortune to survive. This is all I contend for. I speak to the nation, and not for any interest of my own. My concern in any thing that may happen now, is very unlikely to last long. If they will not listen to the voice of

truth and reason, they shall hear it. No man, who now assists or concurs in doing wrong, shall have it to plead that he was left without information and knew no better. My conclusions will be stated in their place. They are founded on principles which want no proof, and cannot be disputed.

"1. I assert that the crown of these kingdoms is hereditary, and is not, or ever was, elective.

"2. That the crown is not a bare inheritance, but an inheritance accompanying an office of trust, and to be executed, not for the personal exclusive benefit of the king, but of that body politic of which the king is the head.

"3. That nothing less than an act of the legislature can transfer the crown, or alter the succession to it.

"4. That the government of this kingdom is by King, Lords, and Commons.

"5. That the Lords and Commons, without the King, are not, and cannot be a Parliament.

"6. That no two of the component parts of the legislature are competent to perform any legislative act whatsoever. Were it otherwise, the two acting powers might abolish the third; or, without abolishing the name, might annihilate the functions.

"7. That, on the natural death of the king, the succession of the next heir is instant without a vacancy. The crown devolves on his head by demise,

without any act of his own, and without the consent of any other power, party, or person whatsoever.

"It is admitted, I presume, that with an heir-apparent, to whom no legal or natural incapacity is objected, the Lords and Commons would have no right to choose a king—I say, not even himself. But it is contended that they have a right to choose a regent during his majesty's inability to execute the duties and functions of the royal office. It follows then that the crown, or office of king, is hereditary on the natural, and elective on the civil death of the king. When any reason is set up in support or explanation of this distinction, it will be time enough to shew the folly of it. Till then I content myself with affirming, that there is no principle in our constitution more completely recognized and indisputable, than that the office of king is not elective. The heir-apparent succeeds to the office in one case, as he would do to the title in the other. Why? Because it is the wisdom of England to provide against the possibility of a disputed succession, whether to the title or to the office. All other magistrates are chosen for their merits or qualifications. The office of the chief magistrate alone is too great an object of ambition to be left open to a contest. In the abstract idea of election, one may see a possibility that the best would be chosen. But it is in vain to talk

of theories, with the example of Poland before us.

"I know it is agreed even by those, who say that the Lords and Commons in convention have a right to dispose of the regency, that the Prince of Wales must be regent; and, if that were all, as the opinion would be lost in the fact, it would be of little moment what they said. The purpose for which the claim is advanced, is not to deprive him of the title, but to disarm him of the powers of a regent, and to disable or distress him in the execution of his duties. Yet who is there so ignorant, as not to know that the prerogatives of the crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but to insure the execution of his office; and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to any set of men to strip the crown of those prerogatives, or even to qualify or impair them? Shew it if you can, and produce your evidence. In a case of such importance, I will not submit to authority, and, least of all, to the authority of a party, which perhaps means or expects to benefit by the decision. They, who can wholly refuse, may grant upon conditions. The Lords may say, you shall make no more peers. The Commons may say, you shall have no power to dissolve us. The Ministers of course will not submit to be dispossessed; and this is the executive government, which they are willing to establish in the prince's hands. Before they de-

cide, let them make the case their own. Do they mean to admit that the king, uniting with a convention of the peers, could abolish the House of Commons, or even divest them of any one of their privileges? Could the King and the Commons, I will not say *abolish* the House of Lords, but could they take away their jurisdiction in the last resort, or in trials by impeachment? He, who is mad enough to answer these questions in the affirmative, may assert that, whenever his majesty is unable to discharge the duties of the kingly office, the rights, powers, and prerogatives of that office may be modified, curtailed, or annihilated by the other two powers of the legislature, granting that a legislature can exist one moment without the crown. The person who held such language, might deserve to be hanged, but not for inconsistency.

"In arguing these follies, has any man asked himself this plain practical question? Let the executive government be what it may, is not this a period of difficulty and danger beyond any, to which the country was ever exposed before? And is it in the greatest possible difficulties that you would intrust your government with the least possible powers? But say, that it is the opinion of the Lords, or Commons, that restrictions ought to be imposed. How are you sure that they will agree in that point? and, if they disagree, have you considered the consequence? On occasions in some

degree similar, but infinitely inferior in importance, when neither House would give way to the other, the remedy was in the crown, viz. to dissolve the Parliament. But, if the same difficulty occurred now, there would be no remedy for it; for, without a king or a regent, there would be no power to dissolve; but there certainly would be a dissolution of all government. Instant succession resolves all difficulties, and makes all fictions unnecessary. To deface the king's image on the coin is felony. To substitute any other is treason. The prince is the image of the king; and, in the language of the constitution, the king himself calls him, *Eadem persona nobiscum.*

"I set out with asserting that the Lords and Commons, granting them to be still the two Houses of Parliament, have no right to abridge or alter any one of the acknowledged rights or prerogatives of the crown in the absence of the king, or of his true representative. I now mean to go much beyond that proposition, and, in doing so, I stand on the constitution of my country, which I have studied as long, and I believe as carefully, as any man in it. I affirm, because I am convinced of it, that, if every man in the three kingdoms could be called upon to give his vote for doing that, which I say cannot be done by the Lords and Commons, or otherwise than in full Parliament, and gave it so accordingly, no consequent act could of right be

founded on that vote. Why? Because the laws and constitution of England forbid it. I am not talking of desperate or extreme cases. Necessity, unavoidable and irresistible, must be left to provide for itself. True wisdom even then will do nothing beyond what the instant exigency requires, and will return as soon as possible to its regular established courses. Neither do I deny the *power* of the people to do what they will. Undoubtedly they may tear down their temples and tribunals, and murder their teachers and their magistrates. They have a physical force to abolish their laws, and to trample on the institutions of their forefathers. But, remember; the man who pulled down the building, and buried himself in its ruins, was blind as well as strong. The quality of an immoral act is not altered, the guilt of an enormous crime is not diminished, by the numbers that concur in it. The moment the people did these things they would cease to be a nation. To destroy their constitution is beyond their competence. It is the inheritance of the unborn as well as theirs. What we received from our ancestors, we are morally and religiously bound, as well as by our laws, to transmit to our posterity. Of such enormous violence on the part of the people, I know there is no danger. Will they suffer any other power to do that in their name, which they cannot and ought not to do for themselves? I heard it from

Lord Chatham, 'that power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is at once *res detestabilis et caduca*.' Let who will assume such power, it ought to be resisted. Brave men meet their fate; cowards take flight and die for fear of death.

24th Dec. 1810. "PHILIP FRANCIS."

To produce a few citations from JUNIUS, in which the preceding doctrines are maintained, in nearly the same words, will contribute more to certify his identity with Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, than any remarks which might be made upon them.

Sir PHILIP begins with affirming, that "*every rational man in these kingdoms has as good a right* to deliver his opinion on the fundamental principles of the constitution, as *any peer or commoner* who takes a seat in either of the chambers of Parliament."

JUNIUS was of the same opinion. "At such a moment *no honest man will remain silent* or inactive. However distinguished by *rank or property*, in the *rights of freedom we are all equal*. As we are all Englishmen, the *least considerable man* among us has *an interest equal to the proudest nobleman, in the laws and constitution of his country*, and *is equally called upon* to make a generous con-

tribution in support of them; whether it be the heart to conceive, the understanding to direct, or the hand to execute. *It is a common cause, in which we are all interested, in which we should all be engaged**."

Sir PHILIP says, "*I speak to the nation*, and not for any interest of my own." In like manner, JUNIUS dedicates his labours to the *English nation*, and declares, "*I speak to the* plain understanding of the *people*†." Sir PHILIP adds, "My concern in any thing that may happen now is *very unlikely to last long*. If they will not listen to THE VOICE OF TRUTH AND REASON, they shall hear it. No man who now assists or concurs in doing wrong, *shall have it to plead that he was left without information*, and knew no better." JUNIUS employs the same remarkable phraseology.—"The voice of one man will hardly be heard, when THE VOICE OF TRUTH AND REASON is neglected‡."—"Your voice was heard, until THE VOICE OF TRUTH AND REASON was drowned in the din of arms§." And he concludes his dedication in a strain very similar to the rest of the paragraph:—"You are roused at last to a sense of your danger. The remedy will soon be in your power. If JUNIUS lives, *you shall often be reminded of it*. If, when the opportunity presents itself,

* JUNIUS, ii. 113. † JUNIUS, i. * 11.
‡ JUNIUS, iii. 176. § JUNIUS, iii. 195.

you neglect to do your duty to yourselves and to posterity,—to God and to your country,—I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind.—Civil liberty *may still last the life of* JUNIUS*."

The first, second, third, fourth, and seventh propositions of the Essay, are too obvious to allow of a difference of opinion. The fifth and sixth admit of comparison with JUNIUS. Sir PHILIP says:—"That the Lords and Commons, without the king, are not, and cannot be a Parliament. That *no two* of the component parts of the legislature are competent to perform *any legislative act whatsoever*. Were it otherwise, the two acting powers might abolish the third; or without abolishing the name, might annihilate the functions.'

The language held by JUNIUS, on these points, is equally clear and decisive:—

"To do justice to the ministry, they have not pretended that *any one* or *any two* of the three estates have power to *make a new law*, without the concurrence of the *third*. They know that a man who maintains *such a doctrine*, is liable by statute to the *heaviest penalties*†." And again, on this subject, he employs even the same remarkable form of words which Sir PHILIP uses, and

* JUNIUS, i. 8. † JUNIUS, i. 190.

of which two instances have been already brought from the Letters. "Are the ministry daring enough to affirm that the *House of Commons have a right to make and unmake the law of Parliament at their pleasure?* Does the law of Parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land; does the common right of every subject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary capricious vote of *one branch of the legislature?* THE VOICE OF TRUTH AND REASON must be silent*".

Sir PHILIP next observes, "The prerogatives of the crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but *to insure the execution of his office;* and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to any set of men *to strip the crown of those prerogatives?*"—JUNIUS takes the same view of the subject under the following figure: "The feather that adorns the royal bird, *supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth*†."

JUNIUS, as if with a prophetic eye to the very question considered in the Essay, tells the king, "There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your Majesty to consider the late proceedings of the House of Commons. By depriving a subject of his

* JUNIUS, i. 222. † JUNIUS, ii. 191.

birthright, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature; and, though perhaps not with the same motives, have strictly followed the example of the long Parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after with as little ceremony dissolved the House of Lords. *The same pretended power, which robs an English subject of his birthright, may rob an English King of his crown.* In another view, the resolution of the House of Commons, apparently not so dangerous to your Majesty, is still more alarming to your people. Not contented with divesting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have set aside a return as illegal, without daring to censure those officers, who were particularly apprised of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the House, but expressly by the writ directed to them, and, who nevertheless returned him as duly elected. They have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the sense of the people; they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the representative body; and by these acts, taken separately or together, they have essentially altered the original constitution of the House of Commons. Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in the English history, it cannot easily escape you,

how much it is your interest, as well as your duty, to prevent *one of the three estates* from encroaching upon the province of the *other two*, or *assuming the authority of them all.* When once they have departed from the great constitutional line, by which all their proceedings should be directed, who will answer for their future moderation? Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will *submit to a superior?* Your Majesty *may learn hereafter*, how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied*."

It is impossible to read this last extract, without adverting to the fulfilment of its prediction in the question canvassed in the Essay on the Regency; and it would be unjust not to take notice of the consistent, constitutional part which JUNIUS, according to our theory, acted on that occasion. "The *same pretended power* which robs an English subject of his birthright," he truly declared, "*may rob* an English king of his crown." At the time these words were written, few would believe them to be seriously intended to warn the monarch of his danger. But it now appears, that in protecting the great body of the people from the exercise of an unlawful power, JUNIUS was also the *King's best friend.* When the danger of

* JUNIUS, ii. 83.

the crown was no longer problematical, we see him step forward to defend the sovereign, with the same boldness that he had displayed on behalf of the subject. Such conduct adds new lustre to the name of JUNIUS, and stamps him for a genuine Englishman. This elucidation of his real character should for ever silence those, who pretend that he was a factious demagogue; and who always fancy they see, in every friend of the people, an enemy of the crown.

In the conclusion of his Essay, Sir PHILIP professes to go much beyond his first propositions; and in doing so, he observes, "I stand on the constitution of my country, *which I have studied as long, and I believe as carefully, as any man in it:* words applicable in the highest degree to JUNIUS. "I affirm," he continues, "because I am convinced of it, that if every man in the three kingdoms could be called upon to give his vote for doing that which I say cannot be done by the Lords and Commons, or otherwise than in full parliament, and gave it so accordingly, no consequent act could of right be founded on that vote. Why? Because the *laws and constitution of England forbid it.*" And he adds, "The moment the people did these things, they would cease to be a nation. To destroy their constitution is *beyond their competence:* it is the *inheritance of the unborn,* as well as theirs. What we have received from our ancestors,

we are morally and religiously bound, as well as by our laws, to *transmit to posterity.*" But, far as Sir PHILIP goes, he does not carry his principles beyond the line drawn by JUNIUS. The latter concludes his argument on the Middlesex question with sentiments, and even language, resembling the above. "We *owe it to our ancestors* to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care: we *owe it to our posterity*, not to suffer their dearest *inheritance* to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which *nothing can acquit us;* a *personal* interest, which we *cannot surrender**." Both writers consider, that the constitution of the country is a settled, sacred thing, consisting of many relative parts, each having certain rights: and that none of these component parts have power to abridge or destroy the rights of themselves, or of any of the rest; without a virtual dissolution of all government. Consistently with this view both of them maintain, that there are many particular things which "cannot be done by King, Lords, and Commons†." They cannot *disfranchise a borough with a general view to improvement.* They cannot *take the trial by jury out of the English constitution.* They

* JUNIUS, i. 223. † JUNIUS, i. *288.

cannot *limit the constitutional powers of Juries, to return a general verdict* in all cases whatsoever. "These are rights, my lord, which you can no more annihilate, than you can the soil to which they are annexed." Nor can the people, on their part, exercise despotic power. They cannot annul their own privileges or those of the government; as is stated in the Essay, and the quotations following. But by these restrictions, we are not to conclude that all improvement is prevented. They operate negatively; and while they secure to every branch of the constitution its proper advantages, they leave an indeterminate field for promoting that which is the true object of all government—the happiness of the people.

CHAPTER XIV.

Our last chapter, containing an entire Essay from the pen of Sir Philip Francis, presents a full and unmutilated specimen of his style of writing. Whatever resemblance it may bear to Junius, is thence shewn to be a fair one; and while so many instances of likeness are seen in a certain given space, not selected for the purpose of setting them off to greater advantage, but introduced for a different and a definite object, some idea may be formed of the relation which exists between other productions of the same author and Junius. But still it may be urged, that instances of verbal agreement would be found in those other works which, from their singularity, would add strength to the general effect; and that if so many are met with in one Essay, numberless associations both in sentiment and language, worthy of particular enumeration, would occur to the inquiring eye, in works of a larger kind. The remark is just; and in order to answer this common expectation as satisfactorily as possible, we shall lay before the

reader some strong parallel passages which chance has thrown in our way, in addition to those which have been already noticed. As it seldom happens that others attribute to proofs of this kind the authority they possess in the estimation of him who first meets with them, and as the present cause rests on better evidence than even *similar ideas in corresponding forms of language*, regard will be had to worth, rather than number, in making the selection.

But the circumstance from which *many* of the following quotations derive their chief title to consideration is this: that they are very nearly coeval in their origin with the Letters of JUNIUS; that they are the ordinary expressions of the writer at a great distance from England, when, having no expectation that they would ever tend to illustrate the present or any other literary question, he could have had no motive either to imitate the style of JUNIUS, or to depart from that which was natural to himself.

The peculiarity of our first example is heightened by the fact of its being not only varied from in many instances by JUNIUS, but also by Sir PHILIP. In the former, it might be supposed to favour the opinion that two persons were concerned in writing the Letters; but what shall we infer from the equally fluctuating practice of the latter?

JUNIUS.—"As it is, whenever he changes his servants, he is sure to have the people in that instance *of his side.*". (iii. 116.)

———" I am persuaded he would have the reasonable part of the Americans *of his side.*" (iii. 160.)

———" Here, my lord, you have fortune *of your side.*" (ii. 169.)

———" I have no doubt that with an act of Parliament *of my side,* I should have been too strong for them all." (Ed. 1772. ii. 279.)

———" One would think that all the fools were *of the other side* of the question." (i. *295)

———" *We have the laws of our side,* and want nothing but an intrepid leader." (ii. 143.)

———" It is true he professes doctrines which would be treason in America, but in England, at least, *he has the laws of his side.*" (iii. 84.)

FRANCIS.—But he who knows that *he has the law of his side,* will never think of appealing to necessity for a defence of the legality of his measures." (Parliamentary Debates, xxiii. 433.)

———" My reply to the preceding minute is intended for my own justification, and to satisfy the Court of Directors, that if I persist in a conduct opposed to the decided sense of the majority, it is not from obstinacy or passion, but that I have some reason *of my side,* and that I am not so ill-

advised as to endeavour to support any opinion by appealing to evidence that proves directly against me." (Minute, 21st May, 1778, No. 46, App. 6th Report.)

———" I confess he supported his opinion with so many plausible arguments, that I myself began to think he might have reason *of his side.*" (Speech, July 2, 1784.)

———" Let the questions be put into writing, and read or delivered to her publicly, and then I think there can be no ground for a suspicion of undue influence *of either side.*" (Minute, June 8, 1775, App. to 6th Article, No. 117.)

———" Considerations of that kind are irregular; and, as I think, not fit to be insisted on *of either side.*" (Minute, March 2, 1778, App. to 6th, 7th, and 14th Article, p. 1081.)

———" A brave man, with truth *of his side,* need not wish to be eloquent." (On Paper Currency.)

There is, perhaps, no phrase more uncommon than that of *so far forth,* in the pages of an admired author.

JUNIUS.—" If any objections are raised, which are not answered in my third Letter, you will, I am sure, answer for me, *so far forth, ore tenus.*" (i. *316.)

———" *So far forth* as it operates, it consti-

tutes a House of Commons which does not represent the people." (i. 135.)

———" I would tell him, it contained the plan upon which Mr. Crosby and you were desirous to act, provided he would engage to concur in it *bonâ fide, so far forth* as he was concerned." (i. *273.)

FRANCIS.—" If, as in the present instance, I am not to know what the intelligence is on which the board resolves to act, nor by what authority such intelligence is supported, I certainly am no judge of the necessity or propriety of the measure said to be founded on such intelligence, and am *so far forth* deprived of the exercise of the trust reposed in me by Parliament." (Minute, August 2, 1779, 1st. Rep. App. 44.)

———" I object to, and protest against all private correspondence between the Governor-General and Commanding Officer of the Company's troops, *so far forth* as such correspondence, &c." (Nov. 16, 1778, No. 153, App. 6th Rep.)

———" *So far forth* I also meet the opinion of the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell." (June 10, 1779, No. 197, App. 6th Rep.)

———" If their authority be slighted or defied, it follows, that the dependance of that distant dominion on this country is *so far forth* weakened, and its connection with it loosened, if not dissolved." (Letter to Lord North, 1777, p. 102.)

——"*So far forth* there was a saving to the country." (Speech 19th April, 1787, p. 22.)

The following expression is a solecism:—

JUNIUS.—I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that in this article, your first *fact is false.*" (i. 75.)

FRANCIS.—"This part of the motion, I say, implies a *false fact.*" (Minute, October 12th, 1778. No. 146. App. 6th Rep.)

This word, "*examinable,*" occurs in no dictionary.

JUNIUS.—"The cases to prove that the assumed privileges of either House of Parliament are not *examinable* elsewhere than in their own houses, are Lord Shaftsbury's case, &c." (iii. 362.)

FRANCIS.—"He has added some specific evidence, which I shall take the liberty to examine, because it is of an *examinable* nature in itself, and happens to be familiar to me." (Speech, July 2, 1784.)

In favourite *metaphorical expressions,* an excellent clue is obtained for tracing an anonymous author. Of this class, the following are among the most singular:—

JUNIUS.—"Go to little 3 *per cents reduced;* you'll find him a mere *scrip* of a secretary; an *omnium* of all that's genteel." (iii. 425.)

FRANCIS.—"I say we are a *nation* of 3 *per cents,* and nothing else." (Speech, March 1, 1792.)

JUNIUS.—"Tell us in what instance he has discovered a single *ray of wisdom,* solidity, or judgment." (iii. 286.)

———"To what an enormous excess it has safely conducted your Grace, without a *ray of real understanding*." (ii. 322.)

———"The Secretary at War, it is true, has a multitude of enemies, but the bitterest of them will not affirm, that he is positively an ideot, without a single *ray of understanding*." (iii. 280.)

FRANCIS.—"If Moodajee Boosla has a *ray of understanding*, and reflects, &c." (Minute, July 18, 1778, No. 70. App. 6th Rep.)

———"Power alone, without a particle of skill, or a *ray of genius*, can do more mischief in a day, than wisdom and industry can repair in a century." (Speeches on the Mahratta War, 1805, p. 75.)

JUNIUS.—"He precludes himself from soliciting, with *any colour of decency*, a real and solid reward from the city." (i. 272.)

———"With what *colour of truth* can he pretend that I am no where to be encountered but in a newspaper?" (ii. 305.)

———"Neither can it be said, *with any colour of truth*, to be part of the common law of England." (ii. 212.)

FRANCIS.—"Our superiors will judge whether the doctrine can *with the least colour of truth* be applied to any acts of mine." (Minute, March 8, 1779, No. 182. App. 6th Rep.)

———" I admit the principle, as far as it can be urged by Mr. Hastings with *any colour of reason or justice.*" (Minute, September 11, 1780.)

JUNIUS.—" The first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America, which has since *thrown the whole continent into a flame.*" (iii. 185.)

FRANCIS.—" I can remember the time, when an attempt of this nature would have *thrown the whole kingdom into a flame.*" (Parl. Deb. xvi. 228.)

JUNIUS.—" But perseverance, management, and determined good humour, will set every thing right, and, in the end, *break the heart* of Mr. Horne." (i. *320.)

FRANCIS.—" They will all make common cause against him, and sooner or later overcome his resolution, *or break his heart.*" (Speech, 7th March, 1786.)

JUNIUS.—" *This I conceive is the last* disorder of the state. The *consultation meets but to disagree;* opposite medicines are prescribed; and the last fixed on is changed by the hand that gives it." (iii. 176.)

FRANCIS.—" *This I conceive is the last* state of misrule into which a nation can fall." (Letter to Lord North, 1777.)

JUNIUS.—" A sick man might as well expect to be cured by a *consultation of doctors.* They

talk, and debate, and wrangle, and the *patient* expires." (ii. 491.)

FRANCIS.—"The case is pressing.—Men of distinguished abilities and long experience recommend different courses. Therefore follow none of them. *Doctors* differ: let the *patient* perish." (Speech, 23d April, 1793.).

JUNIUS.—"Will you not endeavour to remove or alleviate the most dangerous symptoms, because you cannot eradicate the *disease*?" (ii. 224.)

FRANCIS.—"The actual choice lies between a *disease*, which threatens immediate dissolution, and a remedy which at least gives time for deliberation. We know not what favourable turns may appear during an interval of repose; but at any rate, we should not hasten a crisis, at which neither prudence nor fortune can save the object." (Letter to Lord North, 1777.)

JUNIUS.—"Will that man who sleepeth never *awake?*" (iii. 294.)

FRANCIS.—"Under the influence of this dream they have embarked in schemes of the most dangerous nature, and wasted the Company's property with unexampled profusion. It is high time that they should be *awakened* from it." (Minute, No. 197, App. 6th Rep.)

JUNIUS.—"If the Treasury, without hearing, is suffered to *halloo* an informer at your estate." (iii. 54.)

FRANCIS.—"Even judges themselves came down to support him, to greet him with early cheers, and encourage him with the smiles and the *halloo* of government." (Speech, 7th Feb. 1786.)

JUNIUS.—"Charles Fox is yet in *blossom*." (ii. 244.)

FRANCIS.—"His (Mr. Pitt's) promises *blossom* like himself; we know not what bitter fruits they may produce." (Speech, 12th Feb. 1787.)

JUNIUS.—"He would have shifted, and delayed, and played the *back-game* to have got rid of it." (iii. 47.)

FRANCIS.—"Yet this disgrace has been voluntarily incurred, for the sake of a solid advantage, by wise and powerful princes, who weighed the *candle against the game*." (Letter to Lord Holland, p. 56.)

JUNIUS.—"We may retire to our prayers, for *the game is up*." (iii. 183.)

FRANCIS.—"Whether you laugh or cry, *the game is up*." (Letter to Lord Holland, p. 41.)

Sometimes particular doctrines are laid down in similar words.

JUNIUS.—"*It is not that precedents have any weight with me in opposition to principles;* but I know they weigh with the multitude." (i. * 309.)

———"*Precedents, in opposition to principles, have little weight* with JUNIUS." (i. 175.)

FRANCIS.—"He objected to the law as subversive of the principles of the constitution, and *not to be justified by any precedents opposed to principles.*" (Parliamentary Debates, xix. 28.)

JUNIUS.—"One *precedent* creates another. They soon accumulate, and constitute law; *what yesterday was fact, to day is doctrine.*" (i. 3.)

FRANCIS.—"*What yesterday was* prosperous, *to day is* desperate." (Speech, 2d July, 1784.)

———"From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government the gradations are easy, and the transition will be rapid. The same *facts* which counteract principles *to day*, will be *precedents* to morrow, and principles the day after. *Let the nation look to it.*" (Parliamentary Debates, xxviii. 429.)

JUNIUS.—"When such a man stands forth, *let the nation look to it.*" (ii. 143.)

———"To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable, because *vulgar minds make no distinction* between the *highly difficult* and *the impossible.* (iii. 171.)

FRANCIS.—"To distinguish and resolve at a glance, in a question instant of life and death, between *extreme difficulty*, and *positive impossibility*, is the surest indication of a *superior mind.*" (Letter to Lord Holland, p. 29.)

JUNIUS.—"Betraying an unreasonable expec-

tation of benefits, pure and entire, from any *human institution*, they in effect arraign the goodness of Providence, and confess that they are dissatisfied with the common lot of humanity." (i. 11.)

———"It is not the only instance in the wisest of *human institutions*, where theory is at variance with practice." (i. 41.)

FRANCIS.—"If these leading principles are such as the House, upon a fair review of them, shall think it right to adhere to and confirm, it would answer no purpose of mine to shew that there were mistakes or inconsistencies in the detail. *Defects of that kind belong to all human institutions*, and are easily corrected. On the other hand, if the principles of the law should, on a fair review of them, be reprobated by the House as *false, absurd, and unconstitutional*, the great and essential part of my task is accomplished." (Speech, 7th March, 1786.)

JUNIUS.—"If every line of it were treason, his charge to the jury would still be *false, absurd*, illegal, *and unconstitutional*." (i. 27.)

JUNIUS.—"You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at *power without right*." (i. 44.)

———"If, on your part, you should have no plain, substantial defence, but should endeavour to shelter yourself under the quirk and evasion of a

practising lawyer, or under the more insulting assertion of *power without right*, the reputation you pretend to is gone for ever." (ii. 407.)

———" It is a *power without right*, and a daring violation of the whole English law of bail." (ii. 419.)

FRANCIS.—" This law formally introduces, into the inmost recesses of personal confidence and friendship, the worst of all the instruments that have ever been employed by *power without right*." (Speech, 7th March, 1786.)

———" An arbitrary succession of acts of *power without right*, flowing from different sources, and excluding every idea of unity, regularity or system." (Original Minutes, 1776. p. 28.)

JUNIUS.—" The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power. *They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee simple is in us.* They cannot alienate, they cannot waste." (i. 5.)

FRANCIS.—" The last appeal I shall make is to the prudence of the House. *We are trustees for the nation, and accountable for the trust reposed in us.*" (Parliamentary Debates, xlv. 171.)

———" As *trustees* to the Company, we have *no discretionary power* to give away their property." (7th May, 1778. Evidence to 6, 7, and 14th Articles.)

JUNIUS.—"In a *great business*, there is nothing so fatal as *cunning* management." (i. 273.)

FRANCIS.—"In the conduct of *great affairs*, the advantages of *cunning* are very inconsiderable." (Question stated, p. 9.)

JUNIUS.—"I would engage your favourable attention to what I am going to say to you; and *I entreat* you not to be too *hasty* in *concluding*, from the apparent tendency of this Letter, to any possible interests or connections of my own." (Private Letter to Wilkes. i. *264.)

FRANCIS.—"My second request is, that gentlemen will have the goodness and the candour to hear me out; that they will not suffer their minds to travel faster than I do; that they will not *anticipate my conclusions*, and much more, that they will not *conclude* for me." (Speech, April 11, 1796.)

———"Again *I entreat* the House most earnestly on this point, not to anticipate my argument, nor to *conclude* either *hastily* for me or against me." (Ibid.)

The last and the following sentiment could not have been seen by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, both being contained in one of the private Letters to Wilkes.

JUNIUS.—"There is a rule in business that would save much time if it were generally adopt-

ed. *A question once decided, is no longer a subject of argument.*" (i. 305.)

FRANCIS.—"*I will not continue to argue a question on which I have already submitted to judgment.* If the event of the present measures should ever force an inquiry into the origin and motives of them; the merit of those persons who have promoted or opposed them, will not be tried by nice *verbal* distinctions, or by torturing particular expressions in debate to a sense inconsistent with the general principles, avowed opinions, and uniform conduct of those who use them. The inquiry will commence at the source of the measures in question." (Minute, 27th April, 1778, App. 41, 6th Rep.)

JUNIUS.—"I am well assured that JUNIUS will never descend to a dispute with such a writer as Modestus, especially as the dispute must be chiefly about *words*." (ii. 28.)

———"But I shall not descend to a dispute about *words*, I speak to *things*." (iii. 137.)

FRANCIS.—"If this were a contest about *words*, and if *things* of the greatest moment were not at stake, &c." (Minute, 1774, App. 45, 5th Rep.)

———"*A dispute about the construction of words might be endless*; I will therefore not enter into it, but content myself with stating what I

think the true sense and meaning of the Company's present orders." (Minute, 13th March, 1778, App. 38, 6th Rep.)

———" Much might be said in defence of those opinions, which the Governor-General has been pleased to canvass so minutely; *but as the argument would turn chiefly on the construction of words, on nice distinctions in forming such constructions, and probable inferences deduced from thence, I shall not enter into it.*" (Minute, 2d February, 1778, App. 29, 6th Rep.)

JUNIUS.—" If, therefore, the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, *I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms,* or of misapplying the language of the law. I speak *to the plain understanding of the people,* and appeal to their honest, liberal construction of me." (Pref. i. *11.)

FRANCIS.—" It is not a trial between *cunning knowledge and unlearned reason.* It is not a victory *of legal argument over an unlearned individual contending for his birthright, which in such a question will satisfy the sense and judgment of the nation.*" (Speech, 7th March, 1786.)

JUNIUS.—" You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at power without right, and who think it flattery to tell you that the character of king *dissolves* the natural *relation between guilt and punishment.*" (i. 44.)

FRANCIS.—"In the present practice, the wholesome *relation* between *guilt and punishment* is inverted." (On Paper Currency.)

———" Nor will I leave it to the master to *dissolve the relation between* his slave and himself, just whenever he pleases." (Speech, 11th April, 1796.)

———" By which they obtained some of the advantages attached to the condition of a Roman citizen, though the *relation between* the freedman and his master was not entirely *dissolved*." (Ibid.)

JUNIUS.—" *Can any man in his senses affirm*, that as things are now circumstanced in this country, it is possible to exterminate corruption?" (i. *228.)

FRANCIS.—" But *does any man in his senses believe* the statement to be true?" (Speech, 11th April, 1796.)

JUNIUS.—" *Still* you will find an *insurmountable difficulty in the execution*." (i. *289.)

FRANCIS.—" The *difficulties in the execution* would *still* be *insurmountable*." (Speech, 11th April, 1796.)

There is a *manner* in the following passage, which belongs only to the present writers.

JUNIUS.—" Who attacks the liberty of the press? Lord Mansfield.—Who invades the constitutional power of juries? Lord Mansfield.—

What judge ever challenged a juryman, but Lord Mansfield, &c.?" (ii. 355.)

FRANCIS.—"But in the consideration of these offences, who is the offended party? The negro-driver.—Who is the judge of the fact? The driver. Who awards the punishment? The driver.—Who inflicts it? The driver, with his own hand."

The *sarcastic* allusion to the *religion of the court*, in the subjoined quotation, will recal the memory of one of the most extraordinary characteristics of JUNIUS.

FRANCIS.—"The condition of the army is sufficient to prove what the condition of the country must be, where soldiers range at large, not only without civil authority, but without discipline. But the groans of Ireland are too distant to be heard. Her sorrows are not seen. *The dresses of the opera are corrected*, and *all the duties of Christianity are performed*." (Question stated, p. 21.)

The following adjurations are of an extraordinary kind:—

JUNIUS.—"*In the name of God and the laws*, are such men fit to govern a great kingdom?" (iii. 31.)

———"*In the name of common sense*, what useful purpose will her submission answer?" (iii. 183.)

———"*In the name of decency and common sense*, what are your grace's merits?" (ii. 331.)

FRANCIS.—"*In the name of God and common sense*, what have we gained by consulting these learned persons?" (Parl. Deb. xxiii. 431.)

———" *In the name of God and justice*," &c. (Speech, 19th April, 1787.)

But perhaps the most singular instance of agreement, in the peculiar use of words, is to be found in the following quotations.

JUNIUS.—" As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly *improved upon the vices* of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor." (ii. 403.)

FRANCIS.—" After all, mere precedents seldom amount to a satisfactory proof of right, especially in matter of government. Political societies have existed too long, to leave any abuse without an example. We may *improve upon the errors* of our predecessors, but we cannot be original." (Original Minutes, p. 96.)

This use of the word *improve* in what grammarians call a *bad* sense, since it does not mean to amend or shun those errors and vices, but to go beyond them in excess, is so unlike the language of all other writers, that it may be regarded as the most conspicuous proof of identity which this class of examples is capable of affording.

The following address by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS,

closely resembles a well known passage in the Letters.

FRANCIS.—"If I could personify the House of Commons, it would be my interest as well as my duty to approach so great a person with the utmost *respect*. But *respect does not exclude firmness*, and should not restrain me from saying, that it is the function of your greatness, as well as of your office, to *listen to truth*, especially when it arraigns a proceeding of your own. I am not here to admire your consistency, or to applaud the conduct which I am endeavouring to correct. These topics do not furnish any subject for applause. You have nothing like praise to expect from me; unless you feel, as I do, that a compliment of the highest order is included in the confidence which appeals to your justice against your inclination." (Speech, 11th April, 1796.)

JUNIUS, in his celebrated Letter to the King, introduces his personal address to the monarch with the same remark. "He would deliver his sentiments with dignity and *firmness*, but *not without respect*." And he proceeds:—"Sir, it is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every reproach and distress which has attended your government, that you should never have been acquainted with the *language of truth*, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. *** I

would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of *truth*." (ii. 64.)

The words in small capitals in the following extracts, are in *Italics* in the *original:* a circumstance which adds to their remarkable similarity.

JUNIUS.—" To say that they WILL NOT make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they have the power; and *laws*, you know, are intended *to guard against what men* MAY *do, not to trust to what they* WILL *do*." (i. 199.)

FRANCIS.—" What they WILL do I know not, but this is what they MAY do under the present institution." (Speech, March 7, 1786.)

———" The Lords and Commons who compose the present pannel are honourable men. So are we all. But let it be remembered that *laws* are made to *guard against what men* MAY *do, not to trust to what they* WILL *do*." (Speech, March 7, 1786.)

Both writers adopt the same quotations in two or three instances, and the extracts are of unusual occurrence.

JUNIUS.—" I cannot express my opinion of the present ministry more exactly, than in the words of Sir Richard Steele:—that we are governed by a

set of drivellers, whose folly *takes away all dignity from distress, and makes* even *calamity ridiculous.*" (i. 231.)

FRANCIS.—"Such authors of such ruin *take away all dignity from distress, and make calamity ridiculous.*" (On Paper Currency.)

JUNIUS.—"It was on a consideration of this kind of character that a great poet says with a singular emphasis—*Beware the fury of a patient man.*" (iii. 8.)

FRANCIS.—"Agreed. Then look to the proverb, for instruction, before it be too late. *Beware the fury of a patient man.*" (Plan of Reform, &c. p. 30.)

JUNIUS.—"While this censorial power is maintained, to speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner*, both minister and magistrate is

* This quotation from De Lolme has been thought to favour the opinion that he was JUNIUS. Without entering into the numerous insurmountable objections to such an hypothesis, I would ask whether Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, by having *twice* employed the same quotation *without acknowledgment*, is not much more likely to be the author of the Letters, than De Lolme, whose name is pointedly mentioned by JUNIUS in connection with the extract?

The "*Constitution de l' Angleterre*" was published in 1771, at the end of which year it was noticed with high encomiums in the preface to the Letters. It is *possible* that De Lolme, flattered by this attention, would send his "Parallel between the English constitution and the former government of Sweden" to JUNIUS, for his correction; and perhaps this was the *large roll containing a pamphlet* which

compelled, in almost every instance, *to choose between his duty and his reputation.*" (i. 13.)

FRANCIS.—" The wisdom of our ancestors has deemed the inspection of the public eye upon the proceedings of the court to be a powerful guard over the virtue of the judge; and the best and wisest of our judges have thought it no impeachment of their integrity. An open trial obliges the judge in every question that comes before him, to *choose between his duty and the loss of his reputation.*" (Speech, 7th March, 1786.)

———" The learned person who ventures to affirm that the proposition is true in the terms in which I have stated it, should remember that his character is at stake, that he acts under the inspection of the public eye, and that he is going *to choose between his duty and the loss of his reputation for ever**." (Speech, 7th March, 1786.)

These are only a few of those parallel passages

Woodfall forwarded in February, 1772. Whether De Lolme translated his own Essay, (of which the "Parallel" was a portion,) or whether he employed an English coadjutor, he would equally be glad of the revision of JUNIUS, whose Letters appear to have first led him to write on the English constitution. The incompetency of De Lolme to compose in English without assistance, may be inferred from his dedication to the Essay, and from the different style of his various productions. His not having come to England till the winter of 1768-9, renders it *impossible* that he could have been JUNIUS.

and phrases, which the course of reading necessary for this investigation has supplied; but from their extraordinary character, they will no doubt be thought to maintain the cause with much success. To judge of them fairly, they should be compared with other attempts to identify JUNIUS by the same description of evidence. The intrinsic value of each of these examples would then be duly estimated.

It only remains that we should take an enlarged survey of the literary character of both writers, in order to see whether, on the whole, they agree as perfectly, as they have been found to do in particular instances.

The character of JUNIUS as an Author is thus given by the writer of the Preliminary Essay. "The distinguishing features of his style are, ardour, spirit, perspicuity, classical correctness, sententious epigrammatic compression: his characteristic ornaments, keen, indignant invective; audacious interrogation; shrewd, severe, antithetical retort; proud, presumptuous disdain of the powers of his adversary; pointed, and appropriate allusions that can never be mistaken, but are often overcharged, and at times perhaps totally unfounded; similes introduced, not for the purpose of decoration, but of illustration and

energy, brilliant, burning, admirably selected, and irresistible in their application*."

To the above summary of his character, the following is added in the same work from the pen of an opponent of JUNIUS. "Rapid, violent, and impetuous, he affirms without reason, and decides without proof; as if he feared that the *slow methods of induction and argument would interrupt him in his progress, and throw obstacles in the way of his career.* But though he advances with the largest strides, his steps are measured, his expressions are selected with the *most anxious care*, and his periods terminated in *harmonious cadence.* Thus he captivates by his confidence, by the turn of his sentences, and by the force of his words. His readers are persuaded because they are agitated, and convinced because they are pleased. Their assent therefore is never withheld, though they scarcely know why, or even to what it is yielded†."

This last quotation is in itself so excellent as to claim regard, even if the view it gives of the literary character of JUNIUS were less correct. But when to the capacity of its author for the task of criticism we add this consideration, that the praise he bestows is extorted from him, the high

* JUNIUS, i. 89. † JUNIUS, i. 90.

opinion he has expressed of the abilities of JUNIUS becomes still more worthy of attention. I have chosen to give the sentiments of others rather than my own, that I might not seem to shape the materials for my purpose; and after the more favourable description, that estimate of our author is introduced which is the least to be suspected of partiality, in order to avoid the suspicion of having over-rated his merits.

The same work to which we are indebted for the authentic biography of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, contains a critique on his character as an Author, which in every respect may be considered as a fit companion for the preceding. If our conjecture be well founded, the two portraits should be strikingly alike, though they vary in the time of life, and are sketched by different hands: let the reader compare them, and see whether they do not fulfil this expectation.

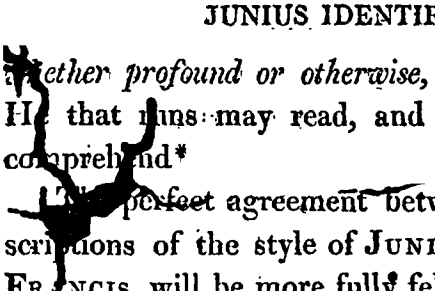
"The works of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS resemble, in a great measure, those of Lord Bacon, of whom it was said, that *no man crammed so much meaning into so few words*, or, as Edmund Burke said of his style, *there is no gummy flesh in it*. His language is figurative and expressive in perfection. You never doubt about his meaning. *In argument, he lightens rather than reasons on his subject. Vivid flashes from his mind, in rapid succession, illu-*

minate the question, not by formal induction, but by uniform splendor and irresistible corruscation."

"His style," says the same elegant critic, "is so perfectly musical, and moves to such a [illegible]ightly, animated, and interesting measure, that, as it has been observed of Greek, there would be a delight in hearing it read, even if one did not understand it. The sentences are so constructed that they roll down of themselves, and, like Sisyphus's stone, the moment they reach the bottom, rebound, and mount again on the other side,

"Αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής."

"This excellence is not, however, produced by a sacrifice to pedantic or affected phrases. The essence of language is to be intelligible. New-fangled terms, and sesquipedalian words, may please fools, and deceive them into a belief that they cover sense; but sense, were it ever accompanied, would be disgraced by such ornaments. *As* Sir PHILIP *has a fine ear for the collocation of words, so has he a true taste in their selection.* The first of Latin critics has said: "*Utinam et verba in usu quotidiano posita minus timeremus.*" Our author has felt the weight of that remark, and by it acquired *a noble simplicity of expression, worthy of his thoughts. Every thing in his writings,*



whether profound or otherwise, is plain and clear. He that runs may read, and dulness itself may comprehend*

The perfect agreement between these two descriptions of the style of JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, will be more fully felt if they are transposed in the mind of the reader. Considered in their application to writings which neither of them were intended to characterize, it will be apparent to any one conversant with either author, that the same qualities must exist in the works of both, or the criticisms would in some respects have been inapplicable.

Thus we have gone through every species of inquiry that can be suggested, to prove the truth or fallacy of any conjecture, and individually, as well as collectively, all are seen to lead to one and the same result. We have called, as it were, upon many different witnesses, wholly unconnected with each other, unknowing what had been related, and strangers to what might follow, yet each tells a tale which confirms the truth in his own particular case, and all unite together in producing a consistent series of proofs, resting on facts in the first instance, and bearing directly upon the point de-

* Monthly Mirror, March, 1810.

sired, so as to leave perhaps nothing wanting to establish full conviction. However, to make assurance doubly sure, we shall extend our investigation into another district, where additional evidence of an interesting nature will be met with.

CHAPTER XV.

In an inquiry like the present, as soon as a valid conjecture was formed, it would follow, that looking at the question in as many different lights as possible, and in every variety of position, we should find a still greater number of confirmations; and that thus encouraged and supported, we should perceive it to be far more difficult to know when to stop, than where to meet with evidence worthy of being adduced. A superfluity of this kind causes the following facts, documents, and arguments to be laid before the reader. The question might be considered as determined by what has been advanced; but amidst the numerous proofs that offer in support of our opinion, the following appear to be so conclusive in themselves, as to deserve particular distinction. They are also chosen from the rest, because they materially elucidate some of the opinions held by Junius on particular subjects, and because the compositions which they include are desirable additions to his other works.

The compiler of this investigation was acci-

dentally turning over the pages of Almon's Anecdotes of Lord CHATHAM, when his eye was caught by several passages so much in the style of JUNIUS, as to call forth this observation---that either Lord CHATHAM was the Author of the Letters*, or JUNIUS had reported Lord CHATHAM's Speeches. On closer inspection it appeared, that the pages which

* If it were a question worth debating, we have the best of all proofs, that Lord CHATHAM's peculiarities of thinking and expression, did not, of necessity, give a complexion to these speeches so much like that of JUNIUS. It is well known that Hugh Boyd was ambitious of being thought the writer of the Letters, and that he imitated the style of JUNIUS. He, by a singular coincidence, also reported two of Lord CHATHAM's speeches in 1775, and 1777; and here, if any where, we might expect to find that character exhibited which is seen in the reports by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. But neither are they like the latter, nor like JUNIUS. It is astonishing how totally they differ from both: something might be expected from Lord CHATHAM's *manner*, and something from Boyd's habitual imitation of JUNIUS; but there is not a thought or expression in these speeches which savours either of JUNIUS, or of Lord CHATHAM as he is represented by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The consequence is, that not only must Lord CHATHAM have no credit for the literary beauties in the reports of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, under the plea that the words were so strongly impressed on the hearer's mind, that he unavoidably adopted them in repeating the sentiments, for then Hugh Boyd would have preserved some, at least, of these *membra poetæ*, but also Boyd must be shorn of *his* pretensions to be JUNIUS, by failing on so remarkable an occasion to sustain any part of that character, which is so well supported by Sir PHILIP. If the reader is desirous to obtain ocular demonstration of the truth of our representation, he will find Boyd's reports in the volume of Almon's Anecdotes which contains those of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, whereby a most favourable opportunity is presented for making a comparison.

contained the spirit of JUNIUS were principally occupied by the reports of two debates, one the 9th, the other on the 22d of January, 1770; that the latter was the composition of a gentleman who had furnished Almon with the previous report; and that a paragraph was prefixed to this first debate, containing allusions to the Reporter, applicable, as we have before noticed, only to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The reasons which led to that opinion have been stated; and they were cogent enough for the purpose they were then intended to serve: but to build any thing substantial and important upon this ground it is obvious that a better title ought to be produced. This has since been accidentally provided.—In the New PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY the above-mentioned speeches are inserted, and the following note by the Editor accompanies the first of them:—'*This very important debate was taken by a gentleman, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the House of Commons, and by him it has been obligingly revised for this work.*' When the Publishers inquired of Mr. Wright, the Editor of the Debates, whether Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was not the gentleman here alluded to, his answer was as satisfactory as could be wished. 'In reply to your note, I have no hesitation in informing you that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS *is the gentleman alluded to in p. 647, vol. 16, of the Parliamentary History.*'—It was fortu-

nate for the author of this investigation that the allusion here mentioned fell in his way; he must otherwise have contented himself with the internal evidence of the Speeches, for Almon, the original publisher, was dead, and all his papers were dispersed or destroyed. But Sir PHILIP FRANCIS being thus *proved to be the Reporter*, we have now only to enquire whether the Speeches so reported were also the productions of JUNIUS. To determine this question, attention must be paid to their general character, to the remarkable expressions, and to the *dates* of each parallel passage. The better to assist the reader's judgment, such quotations will be incorporated with the text as particularly bear upon the passing subject.

SPEECHES OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

"The next session was opened on the ninth day of January, 1770. The discontents which pervaded the whole nation, stimulated him to the most vigorous exertion of his talents. He considered the conduct of the House of Commons, on all the questions concerning the Middlesex election, as wholly unconstitutional. He attended on the first day. His speeches on that day have fortunately met with a better fate than many of his for-

[redacted] speeches; for they were accurately taken by a gentleman of strong memory, now a member of the House of Commons, and from his notes they are [redacted] printed.

'The motion for an address was made by the Duke of Ancaster, and seconded by Lord Dunmore.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM,

'After some compliment to the Duke of Ancaster, took notice how happy it would have made him to have been able to concur with the noble duke in every part of an address, which was meant as a mark of respect and duty to the crown—professed personal obligations to the king, and veneration for him; that, though he might differ from the noble duke in form of expressing his duty to the crown, he hoped he should give his majesty a more substantial proof of his attachment than if he agreed with the motion. That, at his time of life, and loaded as he was with infirmities, he might perhaps have stood excused if he had continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs. But that the alarming state of the nation called upon him, forced him to come forward once more, and to execute that duty which he owed to God, to his sovereign, and to his country; that he was de-

'termined to perform it, even at the hazard of his 'life. That there never was a period which called 'more forcibly than the present for the serious 'attention and consideration of that house; that as 'they were the grand hereditary counsellors of the 'crown, it was particularly their duty, at a crisis 'of such importance and danger, to lay before 'their sovereign the true state and condition of 'his subjects, the discontent which universally 'prevailed amongst them, the distresses under 'which they laboured, the injuries they com-'plained of, and the true causes of this unhappy 'state of affairs.

'That he had heard with great concern of the 'distemper among the cattle, and was very ready 'to give his approbation to those prudent mea-'sures which the council had taken for putting a 'stop to so dreadful a calamity. That he was sa-'tisfied there was a power in some degree arbi-'trary, with which the constitution trusted the 'crown, to be made use of *under correction of the 'legislature*, and at the *hazard of the minister*, upon 'any sudden emergency, or unforeseen calamity, 'which might threaten the welfare of the people, 'or the safety of the state. That on this principle 'he had himself advised a measure, which he 'knew was *not strictly legal*; but he had recom-'mended it as a measure of *necessity, to save a*

starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country.

JUNIUS.—"That *Parliament may review the* "*acts of a minister* is unquestionable; but there is a "wide difference between saying that the crown has "a legal power, and that *ministers may act at their* "*peril.*"—"Instead of asserting that the proclama-"tion was legal, he (Lord Camden) should have "said, 'My lords, I know the proclamation was "*illegal,* but I advised it because it was *indispens-*"*ably necessary to save the kingdom from famine,* "*and I submit myself to the justice and mercy of my* "*country.*'" (ii. 365. Oct. 15, 1771.)

This first parallel from the Letters is nearly decisive of the fact that JUNIUS was the Reporter. Though written almost two years after the Speech, it will be seen that not only the succession of thought is the same, but even the expressions are preserved sufficiently to shew that the original was fresh in the memory of the writer. If he could have found the Speech reported in other words, but the same in substance, the resemblance might perhaps have been accounted for:—but in the absence of all such aids, to approach so nearly to the language of a report not printed (though preserved in notes) till twenty years after, can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that he who took those notes was himself the writer of the Letters.

(Speech continued.)

'That he was extremely glad to hear what he 'owned he did not believe when he came into the 'House, that the king had reason to expect that 'his endeavours to secure the peace of his country 'would be successful, for that certainly a peace 'was never so necessary as at a time when we 'were torn to pieces by divisions and distractions 'in every part of his majesty's dominions. That 'he had always considered the late peace, however 'necessary in the then exhausted condition of this 'country, as by no means equal in point of advan-'tage to what he had a right to expect from the 'successes of the war, and from the still more ex-'hausted condition of our enemies. That having 'deserted our allies, we were left without alliances, 'and during a peace of seven years, had been every 'moment on the verge of a war: that, on the con-'trary, France had attentively cultivated her allies, 'particularly Spain, by every mark of cordiality 'and respect.' That if a war was unavoidable, 'we must enter into it without a single ally, 'while the whole house of Bourbon was united 'within itself, and supported by the closest con-'nections with the principal powers in Europe.' 'That the situation of our foreign affairs was un-'doubtedly a matter of moment, and highly worthy 'their lordship's consideration; but that he de-

'cured with grief, there were other matters still 'more important, and more urgently demanding 'their attention. He meant the distractions and 'divisions which prevailed in every part of the em-'pire. He lamented the unhappy measure which 'had divided the colonies from the mother country, 'and which he feared had drawn them into excesses 'which he could not justify. He owned his 'natural partiality to America, and was inclined to 'make allowance even for those excesses. That 'they ought to be treated with tenderness; for in 'his sense they were *ebullitions of liberty* which '*broke out upon the skin*, and were a sign, if not of 'perfect health, at least of a *vigorous constitution*, 'and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they 'should strike to the *heart*.—

JUNIUS.—"No man regards *an eruption upon* "*the surface*, when the noble parts are invaded, "and he feels a mortification approaching to his "*heart*." (ii. 153, May 28, 1770.)

———"I shall only say, give me a healthy "*vigorous constitution*, and I shall hardly consult "my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my "*skin*." (i. *311, September 18, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'He professed himself entirely ignorant of the 'present state of America, therefore should be cau-'tious of giving any opinion of the measures fit to

'be pursued with respect to that country. *That it*
'*was a maxim he had observed through life, when he*
'*had lost his way, to stop short, lest by proceeding with-*
'*out knowledge, and advancing* (as he feared the noble
'duke had done) *from one false step to another, he*
'*should wind himself into an inextricable labyrinth,*
'*and never be able to recover the right road*
'*again**.—That as the House had yet no materials
'before them, by which they might judge of the
'proceedings of the colonies, he strongly objected
'to their passing that heavy censure upon them,
'which was conveyed in the word *unwarrantable*,
'contained in the proposed address. That it was
'passing a sentence without hearing the cause, or
'being acquainted with the facts, and might expose
'the proceedings of the House to be received
'abroad with indifference or disrespect. That if
'*unwarrantable* meant any thing, it must mean *ille-*
'*gal*; and how could their lordships decide that pro-
'ceedings which had not been stated to them in any
'shape, were contrary to law? That what he had
'heard of the combinations in America, and of
'their success in supplying themselves with
'goods of their own manufacture, had indeed

* This passage furnished one of those internal proofs on which Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was affirmed to be the Reporter of the present Speeches. (Vide p. 143 of the present volume.)

'alarmed him much for the commercial interests 'of the mother country; but he could not conceive 'in what sense they could be called illegal, much 'less how a declaration of that house could re-'move the evil. That they were *dangerous* in-'deed, and he greatly wished to have that word 'substituted for *unwarrantable*. That we must 'look for other remedies. That the discontent of 'two millions of people deserved consideration; 'and the foundation of it ought to be removed. 'That this was the true way of putting a stop to 'combinations and manufactures in that country; 'but that he reserved himself to give his opinion 'more particularly upon this subject, when authen-'tic information of the state of America should be 'laid before the House; declaring only for the 'present, that we should be cautious how we in-'vade the liberties of any part of our fellow-sub-'jects, however remote in situation, or unable to 'make resistance. That liberty was a plant that 'deserved to be cherished; that he loved the tree, 'and wished well to every branch of it. That, like 'the vine in the Scripture, it had spread from east 'to west, had embraced whole nations with its 'branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. 'That the Americans had purchased their liberty at 'a dear rate, since *they had quitted their native 'country*, and gone *in search of freedom to a desert*.

JUNIUS, speaking of the Americans, says:—

"*They left their native land in search of freedom,* "and found it in *a desert.*" (ii. 77, December 19, 1769.)

In this instance the Speech copies the Letters. To suppose that Lord CHATHAM and JUNIUS reciprocally borrowed from each other, is to encounter a greater difficulty for the sake of avoiding a less. But the resemblance is not surprising if we imagine that JUNIUS was the Reporter; and as we proceed, it will appear that no other solution can be given for this mutual application of each other's sentiments and language.

(*Speech continued.*)

'That the parts of the address which he had 'already touched upon, however important in 'themselves, bore no comparison with that which 'still remained. That indeed there never was a 'time at which the unanimity recommended to 'them by the king, was more necessary than at 'present; but he differed very much from the noble 'duke, with respect to the propriety or utility of 'those general assurances contained in the latter 'part of the address. That the most perfect har-'mony in that House would have but little effect 'towards quieting the minds of the people, and re-'moving their discontent. That it was the duty 'of that House to inquire into the causes of the 'notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole 'English nation, to state those causes to the sove-

'reign, and then to give him their best advice in 'what manner he ought to act. That the privi- 'leges *of the House of Peers*, however transcendant, 'however appropriated to them, stood in fact *upon 'the broad bottom of the people.* They were no lon- 'ger in the condition of the barons, their ances- 'tors, who had separate interests and separate 'strength to support them. *The rights of the 'greatest and of the meanest subjects now stood upon 'the same foundation: the security of law, common 'to all.*—

JUNIUS, two months after, makes the same declaration:—"However distinguished by rank or "property, in the *rights of freedom we are all* "*equal.* As we are Englishmen, the *least consider-* "*able man* among us has an interest equal to the "proudest *nobleman* in the laws and constitution "of his country." (ii. 113, March 19th, 1770.) Compare this passage, with what Sir PHILIP FRANCIS says at p. 223 of the present volume.

(Speech continued.)

—'It was therefore their highest interest, as well 'as their duty, to watch over, and guard the peo- 'ple; for when the people had lost their rights, 'those of the peerage would soon become insignifi- 'cant. To argue from experience, he begged leave 'to refer their lordships to a most important pas- 'sage in history, described by a man of great abi-

'lities, Mr. Robertson. This writer, in his life of 'Charles the Fifth (a great, ambitious, wicked 'man), informs us that the *Peers of Castile were 'so far cajoled and seduced by him, as to join him in 'overturning that part of the Cortez, which repre-'sented the people.*—

JUNIUS alludes to such an example in his dedication:—"I am persuaded you will not leave it "to the choice of seven hundred persons, notori-"ously corrupted by the crown, whether seven "millions of their equals shall be freemen or "slaves * * *. Without insisting upon the extra-"vagant concession made to Harry the Eighth, "there are instances, *in the history of other coun-"tries*, of a formal deliberate surrender of the pub-"lic liberty into the hands of the sovereign." (i. 6, Dec. 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

—'They were weak enough to adopt, and base 'enough to be flattered with an expectation, that 'by assisting their master in this iniquitous pur-'pose, they should increase their own strength and 'importance. What was the consequence? They 'exchanged the constitutional authority of Peers, 'for the titular vanity of Grandees. They were 'no longer a part of a Parliament, for that they 'had destroyed; and when they pretended to have 'an opinion as Grandees, he told them he did not

'understand it; and naturally enough, when they 'had surrendered their authority, treated their ad- 'vice with contempt. The consequences did not 'stop here. He made use of the people whom *he* 'had enslaved to *enslave others*, and employed the 'strength of the Castilians to destroy the rights 'of their free neighbours of Arragon.

JUNIUS.—"We are the *slaves* of the House "of Commons, and *through them* we are the *slaves* "of the king and his ministers." (iii. 374, April 9, 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

'My lords, let this example be a lesson to us 'all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea, 'that our rights stand on a footing different from 'those of the people. Let us be cautious how we 'invade the liberties of our fellow-subjects, how- 'ever mean, however remote; for be assured, my 'lords, that in whatever part of the empire you 'suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in 'America or in Ireland, or here at home, you will 'find it a disease which spreads by contact, and 'soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. 'The man who has lost his own freedom, becomes 'from that moment an *instrument* in the hands 'of an ambitious prince, to *destroy the freedom of* '*others*.—

JUNIUS.—"We can never be really in danger,

" until the forms of Parliament are made use of to
" destroy the substance of our civil and political
" liberties; until Parliament itself betrays its trust,
" by contributing to establish new principles of
" government, and employing the very *weapons*
" committed to it by the collective body, to *stab*
" *the constitution.*" (ii. 116, March 19, 1770.)

(Speech continued.)

—'These reflections, my lords, are but too appli-
'cable to our present situation. The liberty of the
'subject is invaded, not only in provinces, but here
'at home. The English people are loud in their
'complaints: they proclaim with one voice the in-
'juries they have received: they demand redress,
'and depend upon it, my lords, that one way or
'other they will have redress. They will never
'return to a state of tranquillity until they are re-
'dressed; nor ought they; for in my judgment,
'my lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for
'them to perish in a glorious contention for their
'rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity
'at the expense of a *single iota of the constitu-*
'tion.—

JUNIUS no less warmly advocates the right and duty of resistance:—" I confess, Sir, I should
" be contented to *renounce the forms of the constitu-*
" *tion once more,* if there were no other way to
" obtain substantial justice for the people." (ii. 222, April, 22, 1771.)

———" The time is come, when the body of " the English people *must assert their own cause:* " conscious of their strength, and animated by " a sense of their duty, they will not surrender " their birth-right to ministers, parliaments, or " kings." (ii. 115, March, 19, 1770.)

———" If an honest, and, I may truly affirm, " a laborious zeal for the public service, has given " me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and " conjure you never to suffer an invasion of your " political constitution, *however minute the instance* " *may appear*, to pass by without a *determined,* " *persevering resistance.*" (i. 2, December, 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

—' Let me entreat your lordships, then, in the ' name of all the duties you owe to your sovereign, ' to your country, and to yourselves, to perform that ' office to which you are called by the constitution; ' by informing his majesty truly of the condition of ' his subjects, and of the real cause of their dis- ' satisfaction. I have considered the matter with ' most serious attention; and as I have not in my ' own breast the smallest doubt that the present ' universal discontent of the nation arises from the ' proceedings of the House of Commons upon the ' expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought, ' in our address, to state that matter to the King. ' I have drawn up an amendment to the address,

'which I beg leave to submit to the consideration 'of the House:

'"And for these great and essential purposes, 'we will with all convenient speed take into our 'most serious consideration, the causes of the dis- 'contents which prevail in so many parts of your 'majesty's dominions, and particularly the late pro- 'ceedings of the House of Commons, touching the 'incapacity of John Wilkes, Esq. (expelled by that 'House) to be elected a member to serve in this 'present Parliament, thereby refusing (by a resolu- 'tion of one branch of the legislature only) to the 'subject his common right, and depriving the 'electors of Middlesex of their free choice of 'a representative."

'The cautious and guarded terms in which this 'amendment is drawn up, will, I hope, reconcile 'every noble lord, who hears me, to my opinion; 'and as I think no man can dispute the truth of 'the facts, so I am persuaded no man can dispute 'the propriety and necessity of laying those facts 'before his majesty.'

'*Lord Mansfield**. He began with affirming, 'that he had never delivered any opinion upon the 'legality of the proceedings of the House of Com-

* "This noble lord's answer *(taken also from the same gentleman's note)* it is necessary to insert, on account of Lord CHATHAM's reply which follows it."—*Almon's note.*

'mons on the Middlesex election, nor should he 'now, notwithstanding any thing that might be 'expected from him. That he had *locked it up in 'his own breast*, and *it should die with him*:—

JUNIUS to Lord Mansfield:—"As a lord in "Parliament, you were repeatedly called upon to "condemn or defend the new law declared by the "House of Commons. You affected to have "scruples, and every expedient was attempted to "remove them. The question was proposed and "urged to you in a thousand different shapes. "Your prudence still supplied you with evasion; "your resolution was invincible. For my own "part I am not anxious to penetrate this *solemn "secret*. I care not to whose wisdom it is intrusted, "nor how soon you *carry it with you to your "grave*." In a note to this passage it is added:— "*He said in the House of Lords*, that he believed "he should *carry his opinion with him to the grave*." (ii. 179, Nov. 24, 1770.)

As no report of this speech had then been published, the above extract renders it apparent that JUNIUS was in the House at the time it was delivered.

(*Speech continued.*)

—'That he wished to avoid speaking on the sub-'ject; but that the motion made by the noble lord, 'was of a nature too extraordinary and too alarm-

'ing, to suffer him to be silent. He acknowledged 'the unhappy distracted state of the nation; but he 'was happy enough to affirm, with a safe conscience, 'that he had no ways contributed to it. That, in 'his own opinion, declarations of the law, made by 'either House of Parliament, were always attended 'with bad effects: he had constantly opposed them 'whenever he had an opportunity, and in his judi-'cial capacity thought himself bound never to pay 'the least regard to them. That although tho-'roughly convinced of the illegality of General 'Warrants, which, indeed, naming no persons, were 'no warrants at all, he was sorry to see the House 'of Commons by their vote declare them to be il-'legal. That it looked like a legislative act, which 'yet had no force nor effect as a law: for supposing 'the House had declared them to be legal, the 'Courts in Westminster would nevertheless have 'been bound to declare the contrary; and conse-'quently to throw a disrespect upon the vote of the 'House: but he made a wide distinction between 'the general declarations of law, and the particular 'decision which might be made by either House, 'in their judicial capacity, upon a case coming 'regularly before them, and properly the subject of 'their jurisdiction. That here they did not act as 'legislators, pronouncing abstractly and generally 'what the law was, and for the direction of others;

'but as judges, drawing the law from the several 'sources from which it ought to be drawn, for their 'own guidance in deciding the particular question 'before them, and applying it strictly to the deci- 'sion of that question. That, for his own part, 'wherever the statute law was silent, he knew not 'where to look for the law of Parliament, or for a 'definition of the privileges of either House, except 'in the proceedings and decisions of each House 'respectively. That he knew of no parliamentary 'code to judge of questions depending upon the 'judicial authority of Parliament, but the practice 'of each House, moderated or extended according 'to the wisdom of the House, and accommodated 'to the cases before them. That a question touch- 'ing the seat of a member in the Lower House, 'could only be determined by that House; there 'was no other court where it could be tried, nor to 'which there could be an appeal from their deci- 'sion. That wherever a court of justice is supreme, 'and their sentence final (which he apprehended no 'man would dispute was the case in the House of 'Commons, in matters touching elections), the de- 'termination of that court must be received and 'submitted to as the law of the land*? for if there 'be no appeal from a judicial sentence, where shall

* JUNIUS frequently adverts to this part of Lord Mansfield's speech: see particularly p. p. 141 and 175, vol. 2.

'that sentence be questioned, or how can it be 'reversed? He admitted that judges might be 'corrupt, and their sentences erroneous; but these 'were cases, for which, in respect to supreme 'courts, the constitution had provided no remedy. 'That if they wilfully determined wrong, it was 'iniquitous indeed, and in the highest degree de-'testable. But it was a crime of which no human 'tribunal could take cognizance, and it lay between 'God and their consciences. That he avoided 'entering into the merits of the late decision of the 'House of Commons, because it was a subject he 'was convinced the lords had no right to inquire 'into, or discuss. That the amendment proposed 'by the noble lord threatened the most pernicious 'consequences to the nation, as it manifestly 'violated every form and law of Parliament, was 'a gross attack upon the privileges of the House 'of Commons, and instead of promoting that 'harmony which the King had recommended, 'must inevitably *throw the whole country into a* '*flame.*—

This phrase occurring in *Lord Mansfield's* speech, renders it evident that such peculiarities belong to the reporter, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, and not to the imputed speaker. Vide parallels at p. 239), of the present volume.

(*Speech continued.*)

—'That there never was an instance of the lords

'inquiring into the proceedings of the House of 'Commons with respect to their own members; 'much less of their taking upon them to censure 'such proceedings, or of their advising the crown 'to take notice of them. If, indeed, it be the noble 'lord's design to quarrel with the House of Com- 'mons, I confess it will have that effect, and im- 'mediately. The Lower House will undoubtedly 'assert their privileges, and give you vote for vote. 'I leave it, therefore, to your lordships, to consider 'the fatal effects which may arise in such a con- 'juncture as the present, either from an open 'breach between the two Houses of Parliament, or 'between the King and the House of Commons. 'But, my lords, if I could suppose it were even 'advisable to promote a disagreement between the 'two Houses, I would still recommend it to you to 'take care to be in the right; whenever I am forced 'into a quarrel, I will always endeavour to have 'justice on my side. Now, my lords, admitting the 'House of Commons to have done wrong, will it 'mend the matter for your lordships to do ten times 'worse? and that I am clearly convinced would 'be the case, if your lordships were obliged to de- 'clare any opinion of your own, or offer any advice 'to the Crown, on a matter in which, by the con- 'stitution of this country, you have no right what- 'ever to interfere. I will go farther, my lords; I 'will affirm, that such a step would be as ineffec-

'tual as it would be irregular. Suppose the King, 'in consequence of our advice, should dissolve the 'Parliament (for that, I presume, is the true object 'of the noble lord's amendment), the next House 'of Commons that meets, if they know any thing 'of their own privileges, or the laws of this country, 'will undoubtedly, on the very first day of the ses- 'sion, take notice of our proceedings, and declare 'them to be a violation of the rights of the Com- 'mons. They must do so, my lords; or they will 'shamefully betray their constituents and them- 'selves. A noble lord (Lord Marchmont) near 'me, has proposed that we should demand a con- 'ference with the other House. It would be a 'more moderate step, I confess, but equally in- 'effectual. The Commons would never submit to 'discuss their own privileges with the Lords. They 'would not come to a conference upon such a sub- 'ject; or if they did come, they would soon break 'it up with indignation. If, then, the Commons 'have done wrong, I know of no remedy, but 'either that the same power should undo the mis- 'chief they have done, or that the case should be 'provided for by an act of the legislature. That, 'indeed, might be effectual. But whether such a 'remedy be proper or necessary in the present 'case, or whether, indeed, it be attainable, con- 'sidering that the other House must give their 'consent to it, is not a question now before us. If

'such a bill should be proposed, it will be regular 'and parliamentary, and we may then, with pro- 'priety, enter into the legal merits of the decision 'of the House of Commons. As for the amend- 'ment proposed by the noble lord, I object to it 'as irregular and unparliamentary. I am per- 'suaded that it will be attended with very per- 'nicious consequences to this country, and that it 'cannot possibly produce a single good one.'

THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

'My lords, there is one plain maxim, to which 'I have invariably adhered through life: *That in 'every question, in which my liberty, or my property 'were concerned, I should consult and be determined 'by the dictates of common sense.*—

Six months prior to the date of this speech, JUNIUS, with reference to the same subject, says: —"It is a point of fact, *on which every English "gentleman will determine for himself.* As to *law- "yers,* their profession is supported by the indis- "criminate defence of right and wrong, and I "confess I have not that opinion of their know- "ledge or integrity, to think it necessary that "they should *decide for me upon a plain constitu- "tional question.*" (i. 158, June, 22, 1769.)

(Speech continued.)

'I confess, my lords, that I am apt to distrust 'the refinements of learning, because I have seen

'the ablest and the most learned men equally liable 'to deceive themselves, and to mislead others. The 'condition of human nature would be lamentable 'indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning 'and talents, which fall to the share of so small a 'number of men, were sufficient to direct our judg- 'ment and our conduct. But Providence has taken '*better care of our happiness*, and given us, in *the* '*simplicity of common sense*, a rule for our direction, 'by which we shall never be misled.—

JUNIUS.—"This proposition is singular enough, "and turns upon a refinement very distant from "the *simplicity of common sense*." (iii. 165, October, 19, 1768.)

———to Lord Mansfield.—"Now, my lord, "without pretending to reconcile the distinctions "of Westminster Hall with the *simple information* "*of common sense*." (ii. 176, November, 14, 1770.)

———to Woodfall.—"The Latin word *sim-* "*plex* conveys to me an amiable character, and "never denotes folly.*** With a sound heart, "be assured you are better gifted for *happiness*, "than if you had been *cursed with the abilities of a* "*Mansfield*." (i. *236, November, 27, 1771.)

As from many instances it has been proved that the *language* belongs to the reporter, so this phrase, "*the simplicity of common sense*," tends to shew that he and JUNIUS were the same.

(Speech continued.)

'I confess, my lords, I had no other guide in 'drawing up the amendment, which I submitted 'to your consideration; and *before I heard the* 'opinion of the noble lord who spoke last, I did not 'conceive that it was even within the limits of 'possibility for the *greatest human genius*, the most 'subtle understanding, or the *acutest wit*, so strangely 'to *misrepresent my meaning*, and to give it an in- 'terpretation so entirely foreign from what I in- 'tended to express, and from that sense which the 'very terms of the amendment plainly and distinctly 'carry with them. If there be the *smallest founda- 'tion* for the censure thrown upon me by that 'noble lord, if, either expressly, or by the most 'distant implication, I have said or insinuated any 'part of what the noble lord has charged me with, '*discard my opinions for ever*, discard the motion 'with *contempt*.'

'My lords, I must beg the indulgence of the 'House. Neither will my health permit me, nor 'do I pretend to be qualified to follow that learned 'lord minutely through the whole of his argument. '*No man is better acquainted with his abilities and 'learning, nor has a greater respect for them, than I 'have.*—

JUNIUS not only felt like Lord CHATHAM on this particular subject, but addressed Lord Mans-

field in nearly similar terms: "In public affairs, "my lord, cunning, let it be ever so well wrought, "will not conduct a man honourably through life. "Like bad money, it may be current for a time, "but it will soon be cried down. It cannot con- "sist with a liberal spirit, though it be sometimes "united with *extraordinary qualifications. When* "*I acknowledge your abilities, you may believe I am* "*sincere. I feel for human nature, when I see a* "*man, so gifted as you are, descend to such vile* "*practice.* Yet do not suffer your vanity to con- "sole you too soon. Believe me, my good lord, "you are not admired in the same degree in which "you are detested. It is only the partiality of "your friends, that balances the *defects of your* "*heart* with the *superiority of your understanding.*" (ii. 181, November, 14, 1770.)

———"Let it be remembered, that JUNIUS "never pretends to be a better lawyer than Lord "Mansfield. On the contrary, *he takes every* "*opportunity to acknowledge the superior learning* "*and abilities of that wicked judge.*" (iii. 430, February, 6, 1772.)

(Speech continued.)

—'I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in 'the other House, and always listened to him with 'attention. I have not now lost a word of what 'he said, nor did I ever. Upon the present ques- 'tion I meet him without fear. The evidence

'which truth carries with it, is superior to all ar-
'gument; it neither wants the support, nor dreads
'the opposition of the greatest abilities. If there
'be a single word in the amendment to justify the
'interpretation which the noble lord has been
'pleased to give it, I am ready to renounce the
'whole: let it be read, my lords; let it speak for
'itself. (It was read)—In what instance does it
'interfere with the privileges of the House of Com-
'mons? In what respect does it question their
'jurisdiction, or suppose an authority in this
'House to arraign the justice of their sentence? I
'am sure that every lord who hears me, will bear
'me witness, that I said not one word touching the
'merits of the Middlesex election; so far from
'conveying any opinion upon that matter in the
'amendment, I did not even in discourse deliver
'my own sentiments upon it. I did not say that
'the House of Commons had done either right or
'wrong; but, when his majesty was pleased to re-
'commend it to us to cultivate unanimity amongst
'ourselves, I thought it the duty of this House, as
'the great hereditary council of the crown, to state
'to his majesty the distracted condition of his do-
'minions, together with the events which had de-
'stroyed unanimity among his subjects. But, my
'lords, I stated those events merely as facts, with-
'out the smallest addition either of censure or of

'opinion. They are facts, my lords, which I am 'not only convinced are true, but which I know 'are indisputably true. For example, my lords, 'will any man deny that discontents prevail in 'many parts of his majesty's dominions? or that 'those discontents arise from the proceedings of 'the House of Commons, touching the declared 'incapacity of Mr. Wilkes? 'Tis impossible: no 'man can deny a truth so notorious. Or will any 'man deny that those proceedings refused, by a 'resolution of one branch of the legislature only, 'to the subject his common right? Is it not indis-'putably true, my lords, that Mr. Wilkes had a 'common right, and that he lost it no other way 'but by a resolution of the House of Commons? 'My lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting 'the House of Commons: I have consulted their 'journals, and have taken the very words of their 'own resolution. Do they not tell us in so many 'words, that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled, was 'thereby rendered incapable of serving in that 'Parliament? and is it not their resolution alone, 'which refuses to the subject his common right? 'The amendment says farther, that the electors of 'Middlesex are deprived of their free choice of a 'representative. Is this *a false fact*, my lords?'—

Vide the parallels at p. 237 of the present volume. It is impossible that three different persons would

make use of this contradiction in terms; but we find it in Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, JUNIUS, and Lord CHATHAM: the inference is obvious.

(*Speech continued.*)

—'or have I given an unfair representation of it? 'Will any man presume to affirm that Colonel 'Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Mid- 'dlesex? We all know the contrary. We all know 'that Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without either 'praise or censure) was the favourite of the county, 'and chosen by a very great and acknowledged 'majority, to represent them in Parliament. If the 'noble lord dislikes the manner in which these 'facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in 'being advised by him how to alter it. *I am very 'little anxious about terms, provided the substances 'be preserved;* and these are facts, my lords, which 'I am sure will always retain their weight and 'importance, in whatever form of language they 'are described.'

JUNIUS is equally desirous of avoiding disputes about words: *vide* the parallels at p. 246.

(*Speech continued.*)

'Now, my lords, since I have been forced to 'enter into the explanation of an amendment, in 'which nothing less than the genius of penetration 'could have discovered an obscurity, and having, 'as I hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the 'House, having redeemed my motion from the

'severe representation given of it by the noble 'lord, I must a little longer intreat your lordships' 'indulgence. The constitution of this country 'has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard 'with horror and astonishment that very invasion 'defended upon principle. What is this mysteri- 'ous power, undefined by law, unknown to the 'subject, which we must not approach without 'awe, nor speak of without reverence, *which no 'man may question, and to which all men must 'submit?*'

JUNIUS.—"The known laws of the land, the "rights of the subject, the sanctity of charters, and "the reverence due to our magistrates, must all "give way, without *question* or *resistance*, to a pri- "vilege of which *no man knows either the origin or* "extent?" (iii. 373, April 9, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'My lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of 'passive obedience had long since been exploded: 'and, when our kings were obliged to confess that 'their title to the crown, and the rule of their go- 'vernment, had no other foundation than the 'known laws of the land, I never expected to hear 'a divine right, or a divine infallibility attributed 'to any other branch of the legislature. My lords, 'I beg to be understood: no man respects the 'House of Commons more than I do, or would 'contend more strenuously than I would, to pre-

'serve them their just and legal authority. Within 'the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that 'authority is necessary to the well-being of the 'people: beyond that line, every exertion of power 'is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens tyranny to the 'people, and destruction to the state. *Power 'without right* is the most odious and detestable 'object that can be offered to the human imagina-'tion: it is not only pernicious to those who are 'subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It 'is what my noble friend (Lord Lyttleton) has 'truly described it, *Res detestabilis et caduca* *.'—

Though the words *power without right* are here attributed to Lord CHATHAM, there is no doubt that they are derived from the reporter, since we find they constitute a favourite phrase with him and JUNIUS. *Vide the parallels, at* p. 244.

(*Speech continued.*)

—'My lords, I acknowledge the just power, and 'reverence the constitution of the House of Com-'mons. It is for their own sakes that I would 'prevent their assuming a power which the consti-'tution has denied them, lest by *grasping at an 'authority they have no right to, they should forfeit 'that which they legally possess.*'—

* Sir PHILIP FRANCIS quotes this sentence in his Essay on the Regency:—"I HEARD IT *from Lord Chatham*, that *power without* "*right* is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to "the human imagination. It is at once *res detestabilis et caduca.*"

JUNIUS.—"In *my* opinion, *you grasp at the* "*impossible, and lose the really attainable.*" (i. *277, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'My lords, I affirm that they have *betrayed their* 'constituents and violated the constitution.'—

JUNIUS recommends it to be left to the people to "determine by their conduct at a future "election, whether or no it be in reality the gene-"ral sense of the nation that their rights have "been *arbitrarily invaded by the present House of* "*Commons*, and *the constitution betrayed.*" (December 19, 1769, ii. 88.)

(*Speech continued.*)

'Under pretence of declaring the law, they 'have made a law, and *united in the same persons* 'the office of legislator and of judge.'—

JUNIUS observes: "That *legislation and juris-*"*diction are united in the same persons*, and exer-"cised at the same moment; and that a court from "which there is no appeal, assumes an original "jurisdiction in a criminal case," &c. (ii. 237.)

———"The *crime, like the punishment, was in* "*their own bosom. They were ex post facto legisla-*"*tors. They were parties; they were judges*; and, "instead of a court of final judicature, acted as a "court of criminal jurisdiction in the first in-"stance*." (iii. 348.)

* Sir P. FRANCIS.—"This tribunal abandons the wise and an-"cient separation of the verdict from the judgment, *and unites in the*

(Speech continued.)

—'I shall endeavour to adhere strictly to the 'noble lord's doctrine, which it is indeed impossible 'to mistake, so far as my memory will permit me 'to preserve his expressions. He seems fond of 'the word *jurisdiction;* and I confess, with the 'force and effect which he has given it, it is a word 'of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If 'his lordship's doctrine be well founded, we must 'renounce all those political maxims by which our 'understandings have hitherto been directed, and 'even the first elements of learning taught us in 'our schools when we were school-boys. My 'lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing 'more than *Jus dicere;* we knew that *Legem 'facere* and *Legem dicere* were powers clearly dis-'tinguished from each other in the nature of 'things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the 'English Constitution; but now, it seems, we 'must adopt a new system of thinking. The 'House of Commons, we are told, *have a supreme 'jurisdiction;* and *there is no appeal from their sen-*

"*same persons, the verdict, the explanation of the law, and the sentence.*" (Speech, March 7, 1786.)

——"The truth of these principles is acknowledged by the "spirit and caution of our penal laws in every other instance, by the "care they take in all criminal proceedings, to *separate the interest "from the judgment, and the judgment from the execution.* They will "not suffer such characters and *powers to be united in one person*; nor "are they united in any civilized society upon earth, except in "our West India Islands." (Speech, April 18, 1791.) *Vide also the parallels at p.* 210.

'*tence;* and that wherever they are competent 'judges, their decision must be received and sub-'mitted to, as, *ipso facto, the law of the land.*'—

JUNIUS.—"You have hitherto maintained "that the *House of Commons* are the *sole judges of* "*their own privileges,* and that their declaration "does, *ipso facto,* constitute the *law of Parlia-* "*ment.*" (ii. 240, May 28, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'*My lords, I am a plain man,* and have been 'brought up in a religious reverence for the origi-'nal simplicity of the laws of England.'—

JUNIUS on the same subject:—"Is this the "law of Parliament, or is it not? *I am a plain* "*man, Sir,* and cannot follow you through the "phlegmatic forms of an oration." (ii. 239, May 28, 1771.)

Again, referring to the same part of Lord Mansfield's speech to which Lord CHATHAM alludes, and in the same words, though this report was then only in manuscript, he adds: "Suffer "me then, for *I am a plain* unlettered *man,* to con-"tinue that style of interrogation which suits my "capacity." (i. 100, March 3, 1769.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'By what sophistry they have been perverted, 'by what artifices they have been involved in ob-'scurity, is not for me to explain; the principles, 'however, of the English laws are still sufficiently 'clear; they are founded in reason, and are the

'master-piece of the human understanding; but it 'is in the text that I would look for a direction to 'my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern 'professors. The noble lord assures us, that he 'knows not in what code the law of Parliament is 'to be found; that the *House of Commons*, when 'they act as judges, *have no law to direct them but 'their own wisdom;* that their decision is law; and 'if they determine wrong, *the subject has no appeal 'but to Heaven.* What then, my lords, are all the 'generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those 'glorious contentions, by which they meant to 'secure to themselves, and to transmit to their 'posterity a known law, a certain rule of living, 'reduced to this conclusion, that *instead of the ar-'bitrary power of a king, we must submit to the ar-'bitrary power of an House of Commons?* If this 'be true, what benefit do we derive from the ex-'change? *Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every 'shape; but in none so formidable as when it is as-'sumed and exercised by a number of tyrants.* But, 'my lords, this is not the fact, this is not the con-'stitution; we have a law of Parliament, we have 'a code in which every honest man may find it. '*We have Magna Charta*, we have the Statute 'book, and the Bill of Rights.'—

JUNIUS.—"*The House of Commons judge of "their own privileges without appeal:* they may "take offence at the most innocent action, and

" imprison the person who offends them during " their arbitrary will and pleasure. The party has " no remedy; *he cannot appeal from their jurisdic-* " *tion;* and if he questions the privilege, which he " is supposed to have violated, it becomes an ag- " gravation of his offence. Surely, Sir, *this doc-* " *trine is not to be found in Magna Charta.* If it " be admitted without limitation, I *affirm that* " *there is neither law nor liberty in this kingdom.* " *We are the slaves of the House of Commons, and* " *through them we are the slaves of the king and his* " *ministers.*" (April 9, 1771, iii. 374.)

———" The people will grow weary of their " condition, and surrender every thing into the " *king's* hands, rather than submit to be *trampled* " *on* any longer by *five hundred of their equals.*" (April 9, 1771, iii. 379.)

———" The power of the legislature is limit- " ed, not only by the general principles of na- " tural justice, and the welfare of the community, " but by the forms and principles of our particular " constitution: If this doctrine be not true, we " must admit, that King, Lords, and Commons " have *no rule to direct their resolutions*, but *merely* " *their own will and pleasure.* They might unite " the legislative and executive power in the same " hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of " Parliament. But I am persuaded you will not " leave it to the choice of *seven hundred persons*,

" notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether " *seven millions of their equals shall be freemen* " *or slaves.*" (Dec. 1771, i. 6.)

The first of these paragraphs could only proceed from some person who had heard the speech, and who took notes, which would furnish him with this correct transcript of it more than a year after.

(*Speech continued.*)

—' If a case should arise unknown to these great ' authorities, we have still that plain English rea- ' son left, which is the foundation of all our Eng- ' lish jurisprudence. That reason tells us, that ' every judicial court, and every political society, ' must be vested with those powers and privileges ' which are necessary for performing the office to ' which they are appointed. It tells us also, that ' no court of justice can have a power inconsistent ' with, or paramount to, the known laws of the ' land: that the people when they choose their ' representatives, never mean to convey to them a ' power of invading the rights or *trampling upon* ' the liberties of those whom they represent. ' What security would they have for their rights, ' if once they admitted, that a court of judicature ' might determine every question that came before ' it, *not by any known positive law*, but by the vague ' indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble ' lord is pleased to call *the Wisdom of the Court?*'—

JUNIUS, on the same occasion says to Lord Mansfield:—"Instead of those *certain, positive* "*rules*, by which the judgment of a court of law "should invariably be determined, you have fondly "introduced your own unsettled notions of equity "and substantial justice. Decisions given upon "such principles do not alarm the public so much "as they ought, because the consequence and ten- "dency of each particular instance is not observed "or regarded. In the mean time the practice "gains ground; the Court of King's Bench be- "comes a court of equity, and the judge, instead "of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers "only to the *wisdom of the court*, and to the purity "of his own conscience." (ii. 164, Nov. 14, 1770.)

(Speech continued.)

—'With respect to the decision of the courts of 'justice, I am far from denying them their due 'weight and authority; yet, placing them in the 'most respectable view, I still consider them, not 'as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before 'they can arrive even at that degree of authority, 'it must appear, that they are founded in, and con- 'firmed by, reason; that they are supported by 'precedents taken from good and moderate times; 'that they do not contradict any positive law; that 'they are submitted to without reluctance, by the 'people; that they are unquestioned by the legis-

'lature (which is equivalent to a tacit confirma-
'tion); and, what, in my judgment, is by far the
'most important, that they do not *violate the spirit*
'*of the constitution.* My lords, this is not a vague
'or loose expression: we all know what the con-
'stitution is; we all know, that the first principle
'of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by
'the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men
'(less than the whole legislature), but by certain
'laws, to which he has virtually given his consent,
'which are open to him to examine, and not be-
'yond his ability to understand. Now, my lords,
'I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late
'decision of the House of Commons upon the
'Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of
'those properties and conditions which I hold to
'be essential to the legality of such a decision. It
'is not founded in *reason;* for it carries with it a
'contradiction, that the representative should per-
'form the office of the constituent body. It is not
'supported by *a single precedent;* for the case of
'Sir R. Walpole is but a *half precedent*, and even
'that half is imperfect.'—

JUNIUS on the Middlesex question, about six months before this speech was delivered, makes the same remarks.—"I do not mean to admit "that the late resolution of the House of Com-"mons is defensible on general principles of *rea-*"*son*, any more than in law. * * * There is *no* "*statute* existing by which that specific disability

" which we speak of is created. * * * There is *no* " *precedent*, in all the proceedings of the House of " Commons, which comes entirely home to the " present case." (July 19, 1769, i. 176.)

——" He takes advantage eagerly of the " first resolution, by which Mr. *Walpole's* incapa- " city is declared; but as to the two following, by " which the candidate with the fewest votes was " *declared* '*not duly elected*,' and the election itself " vacated, I dare say he would be well satisfied " if they were for ever blotted out of the journals " of the House of Commons. In fair argument " no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless " the whole of it be given us together. The author " has *divided his precedent*, for he knew that, if " taken together, it produced a consequence di- " rectly the reverse of that which he endeavours " to draw from a vote of expulsion." (Aug. 8, 1769, i. 214.)

(Speech continued.)

—' *Incapacity* was indeed declared, but his *crimes* ' are stated as the ground of the resolution, and ' his *opponent* was *declared to be not duly elected*, ' even after his incapacity was established.'—

JUNIUS —" Now, Sir, to my understanding, " no proposition of this kind can be more evident, " than that the House of Commons, by this very " vote, themselves understood, and meant to de- " clare, that Mr. *Walpole's incapacity* arose from " the *crimes* he had committed, not from the pu-

" nishment the House annexed to them.*** They " respected the rights of the people, while they " asserted their own. They did not infer from " Mr. *Walpole's incapacity* that his *opponent* was " duly elected; on the contrary, they declared Mr. " Taylor ' *not duly elected,*' and the election itself " void.*** The present House of Commons have " neither *statute,* nor custom, nor *reason,* nor *one* " *single precedent* to support them." (Aug 8, 1769, i. 216.)

(Speech continued.)

—' It contradicts *Magna Charta* and the Bill of ' Rights, by which it is provided, that no subject ' shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the ' judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; ' and that elections of members to serve in Parlia- ' ment shall be free; and so far is this decision ' from being submitted to by the people, that they ' have taken the strongest measures, and adopted ' the most positive language to express their dis- ' content. Whether it will be questioned by the ' legislature, will depend upon your lordships' re- ' solution; but *that it violates the spirit of the con-* ' *stitution,* will, I think, be disputed by no man ' who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes ' well to the freedom of his country;'—

JUNIUS.—" He not only betrays his master, " but *violates the spirit of the* English *constitution.*" (April 3, 1770, ii. 126.)

——" How long, and to what extent, a king " of England may be protected by the forms, when " he *violates the spirit of the constitution*, deserves " to be considered." (i. 42, Dec. 1771.)

Here again we find the same peculiar phrases in both productions. The sentiments may be those of Lord CHATHAM, but the language belongs to JUNIUS, or more correctly speaking, to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

(Speech continued.)

' —yet, if we are to believe the noble lord, this ' great grievance, this manifest *violation of the first* ' *principles of the constitution*, will not admit of a ' remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless ' we appeal at once to Heaven.'—

JUNIUS.—" Far from discovering a spirit bold " enough to invade the first rights of the people, " and the *first principles of the constitution*." (i. 125, April 24, 1769.)

——" But when I see questions of the " highest national importance, carried as they have " been, and *the first principles of the constitution* " *openly violated*, without argument or decency, I " confess I give up the cause in despair." (i. 139, May 30, 1769.)

(Speech continued.)

' —My lords, I have better hopes of the con- ' stitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom ' and constitutional authority of this House. It is

'your ancestors, my lords,—it is to the English 'barons that we are indebted for the laws and 'constitution we possess. Their virtues were 'rude and uncultivated, but they were great and 'sincere. Their understandings were as little 'polished as their manners, but they had hearts to 'distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to 'distinguish truth from falsehood; they under-'stood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit 'to maintain them.'—

There is a celebrated passage in JUNIUS, very similar to this both in spirit and construction.

JUNIUS.—"Their speech is rude, but intelli-"gible; their gestures fierce, but full of explana-"tion. Perplexed by sophistries, their honest "eloquence rises into action. The first appeal "was to the integrity of their representatives; the "second to the king's justice; the last argument "of the people, whenever they have recourse to it, "will carry more, perhaps, than persuasion to the "Parliament, or supplication to the throne," (ii. 134, April 3, 1770.)

(Speech continued.)

—'My lords, I think that history has not done 'justice to their conduct, when they obtained from 'their sovereign that great acknowledgment of na-'tional rights contained in Magna Charta: they 'did not confine it to themselves alone, but de-'livered it as a common blessing to the whole

'people. They did not say, these are the rights of 'the great barons, or these are rights of the great 'prelates:—No, my lords; they said, in the simple 'Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and pro- 'vided as carefully for the meanest subject as for 'the greatest. These are uncouth words, and 'sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; nei- 'ther are they addressed to the criticism of scho- 'lars, but to the hearts of free men. These three 'words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which 'interests us all; they deserve to be remembered '—they deserve to be inculcated in our minds— 'they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, 'degenerate from the glorious example of our an- 'cestors. Those iron barons (for so I may call 'them when compared with the *silken barons* 'of modern days), were the guardians of the 'people;'—

JUNIUS.—"When the bloody Barrington, "that *silken* fawning courtier at St. James's, &c." (iii. 431, Feb. 17, 1772.) *Vide* also p. 182 of the present vol.

The epithet, in its application, is an uncommon one. But we may observe of this last passage, that it bears other marks of agreement with JUNIUS.—His opinion of noblemen was expressed in terms not more favourable than the above.

JUNIUS.—"At the same time that I think it "good policy to pay those compliments to Lord "CHATHAM, which, in truth he has nobly de-

" served, I should be glad to mortify those *con-*
" *temptible creatures who call themselves noblemen,*
" whose worthless importance depends entirely
" upon their influence over boroughs." (i. *290.)

(*Speech continued.*)

' —yet their virtues, my lords, were never en-
' gaged in a question of such importance as the
' present. A breach has been made in the con-
' stitution—the battlements are dismantled—the
' citadel is open to the first invader—the walls
' totter—the constitution is not tenable.—What
' remains then, but for us to stand foremost in
' the breach, to repair it, or perish in it?

' Great pains have been taken to alarm us with
' the consequences of a difference between the two
' Houses of Parliament—that the House of Com-
' mons will resent our presuming to take notice of
' their proceedings; that they will resent our dar-
' ing to advise the crown, and never forgive us for
' attempting to save the state. My lords, I am
' sensible of the importance and difficulty of this
' great crisis: at a moment such as this, we are
' called upon to do our duty, without dreading the
' resentment of any man. But if apprehensions
' of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which
' we ought to respect most—the representative, or
' the collective body of the people. My lords,
' five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions;
' and if we *must* have a contention, let us take care

'to have the English nation on our side. If this 'question be given up, the Freeholders of England 'are reduced to a condition baser than the Pea- 'santry of Poland. If they desert their own cause 'they deserve to be slaves! My lords, this is not 'merely the *cold opinion of my understanding*, but 'the *glowing expression of what I feel. It is my 'heart that speaks.*'—

JUNIUS.—"The *formality of a well repeated* "*lesson*, is widely distant from the *animated expres-* "*sion of the heart.*" (ii. 124, April 3, 1770.)

———"Forgive this passionate language. I "am unable to correct it. The subject comes "home to us all. *It is the language of my heart.*" (ii. 344, September 30, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'I know I speak warmly, my lords; but this 'warmth shall neither betray my argument nor 'my temper. *The kingdom is in a flame.*'—

For the same expression in JUNIUS, *vide* the parallels at pp. 99 and 282.

(*Speech continued.*)

'As mediators between the king and people, it is 'our duty to represent to him the true condition 'and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which 'no particular respects should hinder us from per- 'forming; and whenever his Majesty shall de- 'mand our advice, it will then be our duty to in- 'quire more minutely into the causes of the pre-

'sent discontents. Whenever that inquiry shall 'come on, I pledge myself to the House to prove, 'that since the first institution of the House of 'Commons, not a single precedent can be pro- 'duced to justify their late proceedings. My noble 'and learned friend (the Lord Chancellor) has 'pledged himself to the House, that he will sup- 'port that assertion.

'My lords, the character and circumstances of 'Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduc- 'ed into this question, not only here, but in that 'court of judicature where his cause was tried: 'I mean the House of Commons. With one party 'he was a patriot of the first magnitude: with the 'other the vilest incendiary. *For my own part*, I 'consider him merely and indifferently as an Eng- 'lish subject, possessed of certain rights which the 'laws have given him, and which the laws alone 'can take from him. I am neither moved by his 'private vices, nor by his public merits. *In his 'person, though he were the worst of men, I contend 'for the safety and security of the best;* and, God 'forbid, my lords, that there should be a power in 'this country of *measuring the civil rights of the 'subject by his moral character*, or by any other 'rule but the *fixed laws of the land!*—

JUNIUS, nine months before this speech, advocates the cause of Wilkes on the same ground, and in language so little dissimilar that we are con-

strained to believe that he had a hand in the above.—" *For my own part*, my lord, I am proud " to affirm, that if I had been weak enough to " form such a friendship, I would never have been " base enough to betray it. But *let Mr. Wilkes's cha-* " *racter be what it may*, this is at least certain, " that, *circumstanced as he is with regard to the* " *public*, even *his vices plead for him.* The peo- " ple of England have too much discernment to " suffer your grace to take advantage of the *fail-* " *ings of a private character, to establish a precedent* " by which the public liberty is affected, and " which you may hereafter, with equal ease and " satisfaction, *employ to the ruin of the best men of* " *the kingdom* * * * *. But the *laws of England* " *shall not be violated*, even by your holy zeal to " oppress a sinner; and though you have succeed- " ed in making him the tool, you shall not make " him the victim of your ambition." (i. 120, April 10, 1769.)

(*Speech continued.*)

'—I believe, my lords, I shall not be suspect- ' ed of any personal partiality to this unhappy ' man: I am not very conversant in pamphlets or ' newspapers; but, from what I have heard, and ' from the little I have read, I may venture to af- ' firm, that I have had my share in the compli- ' ments which have come from that quarter; and ' as for motives of ambition (for I must take to

'myself a part of the noble duke's insinuation), 'I believe, my lords, there have been times in 'which I have had the honour of standing in such 'favour in the closet, that there must have been 'something extravagantly unreasonable in my 'wishes if they might not all have been gratified: 'after neglecting those opportunities, I am now 'suspected of coming forward in the decline of 'life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, 'which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so; '*there is one ambition at least* which I ever will ac- 'knowledge, *which I will not renounce but with my 'life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posteri- 'ty those rights of freedom which I have received 'from my ancestors**.'—

JUNIUS again anticipates Lord CHATHAM:— "To transfer the right of election from the col- "lective to the representative body of the people, "contradicts all those ideas of a House of Com- "mons *which they have received from their fore- "fathers,* and which they have already, though "vainly perhaps, *delivered to their children.*" (i. 170, "July 8, 1769.)

——"We owe it *to our ancestors* to preserve "entire those *rights* which they have delivered to "our care: we *owe it to our posterity* not to suffer

* The words in italics are placed by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS at the head of his Essay on the Regency, *vide* p. 216 of this volume.

" their dearest inheritance to be destroyed." (i. 223, Aug. 8, 1769.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—' *I am not now pleading the cause of an individual,* ' *but of every freeholder in England.*'—

JUNIUS.—" Be assured that the laws, which " protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the " constitution, and that they must fall or flourish " with it. '*This is not the cause of faction or of* " *party, or of any individual, but the common inter-* " *est of every man in Britain.*" (i. 3, December, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—' In what manner this House may constitution- ' ally interpose in their defence, and what kind of ' redress this case will require and admit of, is not ' at present the subject of our consideration. The ' amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to ' such an inquiry. That inquiry may, perhaps, ' point out the necessity of an act of the legisla- ' ture, or it may lead us, perhaps, to desire a con- ' ference with the other House; which one noble ' lord affirms to be only parliamentary way of pro- ' ceeding; and which another noble lord assures us ' the House of Commons would either not come ' to, or would break off with indignation. Leav- ' ing their lordships to reconcile that matter ' between themselves, I shall only say, that before ' we have inquired, we cannot be provided with

'materials, consequently we are not at present 'prepared for a conference.

'It is possible, my lords, that the inquiry I 'speak of may lead us to advise his Majesty to 'dissolve the present Parliament; nor have I any 'doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should 'think it necessary. His Majesty will then deter- 'mine whether he will yield to the united petitions 'of the people of England, or maintain the House 'of Commons in the exercise of a legislative power, 'which *heretofore abolished the House of Lords, and 'overturned the monarchy.*'

JUNIUS.—"By depriving a subject of his birth- "right, they have attributed to their own vote an "authority equal to an act of the whole legislature; "and, though perhaps not with the same motives, "*have strictly followed the example of the long Par-* "*liament, which first declared the regal office useless,* "*and soon after with as little ceremony dissolved the* "*House of Lords.* The same pretended power "which robs an English *subject of his birthright,* "*may* rob an English *king of his crown.*" (ii. 83. December, 19, 1769.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'I willingly acquit the present House of Com- 'mons of having actually formed so detestable a 'design; but they cannot themselves foresee to 'what excesses they may be carried hereafter; and 'for my own part, *I should be sorry to trust to their* '*future moderation.* Unlimited power is apt to

'corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and 'this I know, my lords, that where *law ends*, '*tyranny begins!*'

JUNIUS.—"Versed as your Majesty undoubt- "edly is in the English history, it cannot easily "escape you, how much it is your interest, as well "as your duty, to prevent one of the three estates "from encroaching upon the province of the other "two, or assuming the authority of them all. When "once they have departed from the great consti- "tutional line, by which all their proceedings should "be directed, *who will answer for their future mo-* "*deration?* Or what assurance will they give you, "that when they have trampled upon their equals, "they will submit to a superior? Your Majesty "*may learn hereafter* how nearly the slave and "tyrant are allied." (ii. 84. Dec. 19, 1769.)

In the last two extracts the train of thought pursued by JUNIUS, is that which Lord CHATHAM or his reporter Sir PHILIP FRANCIS *afterwards* followed. Nor is it only in the line of *argument* that we may observe this similarity;—the speech *verbally re[illegible]es the composition* of JUNIUS. Another particular in which the speech and the extracts remarkably agree, is in the prophetic announcement of the dangerous consequences which might ensue to the king, from maintaining and abetting the House of Commons in the exercise of an unlawful degree of power. This possible stretch

of authority, it has been already observed, was assumed on a memorable occasion, when Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, in his own person, protested against it with as much energy and consistency, *as if he had spoken in the name of* Lord CHATHAM, *or written under that of* JUNIUS.

"The amendment was negatived. But *in consequence of this strong and public arraignment of the ministry, several of them resigned.* Lord CHATHAM'S information of the proceedings of the cabinet council was supposed to have been derived from Lord Camden, who, at that time, was lord chancellor; and he having this day divided with Lord CHATHAM, the great seal was immediately taken from him*."

* Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, ii. p. 107.

CHAPTER XVI.

On the twenty-second of January, 1770, the *Marquis of Rockingham* moved for fixing a day to take into consideration the state of the nation.

"This speech*, (says Almon) the answer of the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Chatham's reply,

* 'The object of his lordship's speech was to shew, that the present unhappy condition of affairs, and the universal discontent of the 'people, did not arise from any immediate temporary cause, but had 'grown upon us by degrees, from the moment of his Majesty's accession to the throne. That the persons in whom his Majesty then 'confided had introduced a total change in the old system of English 'government—that they had adopted a maxim which must prove 'fatal to the liberties of this country, viz. "That the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands 'the administration should be committed;" and he could trace the 'operation of this principle through every act of government, since 'the accession, in which those persons could be supposed to have 'any influence. Their first exertion of the prerogative was to make 'a peace contrary to the wishes of the nation, and on terms totally 'disproportioned to the successes of the war; but as they felt themselves unequal to the conduct of a war, they thought a peace, on any 'conditions, necessary for their own security and permanence in administration. He then took notice of those odious tyrannical acts 'of power, by which an approbation of the peace had been obtained. 'And he mentioned the general sweep through every branch and 'department of administration: the removes not merely confined to 'the higher employments, but carried down, with the minutest

are printed from the notes of the same gentleman who communicated the three preceding speeches,

'cruelty, to the lowest offices of the state; and numberless innocent 'families, which had subsisted on salaries from fifty to two hundred 'pounds a year, turned out to misery and ruin, with as little regard 'to the rules of justice, as to the common feelings of compassion. 'That their ideas of taxation were marked by the same principle. 'The argument urged for taxing the cyder counties, viz. "The 'equity of placing them on the same footing with others, where malt 'liquors were chiefly used," was too obvious to escape the attention 'of former ministers; but former ministers paid more regard to the 'liberties of the people, than to the improvement of the revenue. 'That the object of the cyder act, or the effect of it, at least, was not 'so much to increase the revenue, as to extend the law of excise, and 'open the doors of private men to the officers of the crown.

'Without entering into the right of taxing America, it was 'evident, that since the revenue expected to arise from that measure 'was allowed to be very inconsiderable, the real purpose of govern- 'ment must have been to increase the number of their officers in that 'country, and consequently the strength of the prerogative.

'He then took notice of the indecent manner with which the 'debt upon the king's civil list had been laid before, and provided for, 'by Parliament. No account offered—no inquiry permitted to be 'made—not even the decent satisfaction given to Parliament of an as- 'surance that in future such extraordinary expenses should be avoid- 'ed. On the contrary, the king's speech on that occasion had been 'so cautiously worded, that, far from engaging to avoid such exceed- 'ings for the future, it intimated plainly that the expenses of the king's 'civil government could not be confined within the revenue granted 'by Parliament.—That as the nation was heavily burthened by the 'expense, they were no less grossly insulted by the manner in which 'that burthen was laid upon them. That, in certain grants lately 'made by the crown, the ministry had adhered to their principle of 'carrying the prerogative to its utmost extent. No right of property '—no continuance of possession had been considered. But, if these 'had been weaker than they were, he thought some respect was due

made on the first day of the session. They have none of them been printed before. It was necessary

'to the memory of the great prince by whom these grants had been 'made; and in common justice to the noble duke, [the Duke of 'Portland,] whose property had been invaded, the ministry should at 'least have avoided that hurry and precipitation, which had hardly 'left his grace time to defend his rights; and by which the ministry 'themselves seemed to confess their measures would not bear a more 'deliberate mode of proceeding. But the purposes of an election were 'to be served; and the person, benefited by this measure, was sup-'posed to be a better friend to administration than the noble duke, 'whose property had been arbitrarily transferred to another. And 'when, *upon occasion of* this extraordinary measure, and to quiet the 'minds of the people, a bill had been brought into Parliament for se-'curing the property of the subject, it had been rejected the first year 'and violently resisted the second; but the justice and necessity of it 'had prevailed over the influence, and favourite maxims of the ad-'ministration. That the affairs of the external part of the empire 'had been managed with the same want of wisdom, and had been 'brought into nearly the same condition with those at home. In 'Ireland he saw the Parliament prorogued, (which probably led to 'a dissolution) and the affairs of that kingdom left unprovided for, 'and in the greatest confusion. That in America measures of 'violence had been adopted, and it had been the uniform language 'and doctrine of the ministry to force that country to submit. That, 'in his own opinion, violence would not do *there*, and he hoped it 'would not do *here*. But even if a plan of force were advisable, 'why had it not been adhered to? Why did they not adopt and abide 'by some or other system of conduct? That the king's speeches and the 'language of the ministry at home had denounced nothing but war 'and vengeance against a rebellious people, whilst his majesty's go-'vernors abroad were instructed to convey to them the gentlest 'promises of relief and satisfaction. His lordship here referred to 'Lord Bottetort's speech to the assembly of Virginia, in May 1769, 'out of which he recited a passage in point. The passage was this: '—"I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you,

to insert Lord Rockingham's and the Duke of Grafton's speeches, because they are introductory

'that by a letter, dated May the 13th, I have been assured by the 'Earl of Hillsborough, that his majesty's present administration have 'at no time entertained a design to propose to Parliament to lay any 'further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and 'that it is their intention to propose, in the next session of Parliament, 'to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon considera-'tion of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles 'of commerce."

'With respect to foreign affairs, he thought it highly necessary to 'inquire, why France had been permitted to make so considerable an 'acquisition as the island of Corsica? That no man could deny, that 'this island would prove a great addition to the strength of France, 'with respect to her marine; both from its harbours, and the timber 'it produced. He thought this attempt of France was not only un-'just in itself, but directly contrary to certain stipulations in the treaty 'of Aix-la-Chapelle, confirmed by that of 1763, by which it was de-'termined and settled, "That the republic of Genoa should be en-'tirely re-established and maintained in *all* its former states and pos-'sessions; and that, for the advantage and maintenance of the peace 'in general, for the tranquillity of Italy in particular, all things should 'remain there in the condition they were in before the war."

'His lordship added, That he had not dwelt so strongly as he 'might have done, upon that great invasion of the constitution, which 'had now *thrown this whole country into a flame:* the people were 'sufficiently alarmed for their rights, and he did not doubt but that 'matters would be duly inquired into. But he considered it only as 'the point to which all the other measures of the administration had 'tended. That when the constitution was violated, we should not 'content ourselves with repairing the single breach, but look back 'into the causes, and trace the principles which had produced it, in 'order, not merely to restore the constitution to present health, but, 'if possible, make it invulnerable hereafter.

'Upon the whole, he recommended it strongly to their lordships, 'to fix an early day for taking into their consideration the state of this

to Lord Chatham's." For the reason here assigned and because they are the undoubted reports of Sir

'country in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and 'domestic; for we had been injured in them all. That consideration 'would, he hoped, lead their lordships to advise the crown not only 'how to correct past errors, but how to establish a system of govern-'ment more wise, more permanent, better suited to the genius of the 'people, and, at least, consistent with the spirit of the constitution.'

'The *Duke of Grafton*, who spoke next, did not oppose the 'motion: on the contrary, he engaged to second it, and to meet the 'noble lord upon the great question whenever the House should 'think proper. For the present, he meant only to exculpate himself 'from some severe reflections, which he thought were directed par-'ticularly and personally against himself. That he was ready to 'justify the measures alluded to by the noble lord, about every other 'part of his conduct; and he did not doubt of being able to do so to 'the satisfaction of the House. That the resumption made by the 'Commissioners of the Treasury, of a supposed grant of the crown 'land, had been most unfairly represented. He wished the noble 'lord, instead of the word *property*, had only used *possession*; and 'then he would have truly described the fact, and the object. That 'upon the application made to the board, by the person who had 'discovered the defect in the noble duke's title, he could not consist-'ently with his duty, as an officer of the crown, have rejected the 'claim made by that person. That if the noble duke, instead of being 'an opponent, had been the warmest friend of an administration, 'the Treasury Board could not have acted otherwise than they did, 'without a flagrant violation of justice; and as for that hurry and 'precipitation of which they were accused, he took upon him to con-'tradict the noble lord in the most positive manner, and offered to 'prove at the bar of that House, that they had proceeded, not only 'with temper and deliberation, but with the utmost attention to the 'interests of the noble duke, and every possible mark of respect to 'his person; and had protracted their decision to the very last moment, 'allowed by the rules of the board. With respect to the debt upon

PHILIP FRANCIS, we have reprinted them in the notes; otherwise as they are mere sketches of the heads of each speech, and afford no scope for fine writing, they assist so little in the main object of our pursuit, that they might have been omitted. Some expressions are however found in them which being also the phrases of JUNIUS, contribute to identify him with the reporter. "*Upon occasion of*," without the definite article, is a great peculiarity,

'the civil list, he neither had, nor could have, any personal motives 'for wishing to conceal from Parliament the particulars of the ex- 'traordinary expenses, by which that debt had been incurred. That 'the persons to whose offices it belonged, had been constantly em- 'ployed in drawing up a state of that account, and that they had 'received every possible light and information from the officers of 'the crown, in order to shorten and facilitate the business: but it 'was a work of infinite labour and extent; and, notwithstanding 'the utmost diligence in the several public offices, could not yet be 'completed.

'That in regard to foreign affairs, he believed the conduct of the 'king's ministers would bear the strictest examination, and would be 'found irreproachable. That, for his own part, he had never 'thought, nor had he ever affirmed, that the conditions of the late 'peace were such as the people had a right to expect. He had 'maintained that opinion in former times, and no change of situation 'should ever induce him to relinquish it. But that the peace being 'once made, and those advantages which we might have expected 'from a continuance of the war being now irrecoverable, he would 'never advise the king to engage in another war, as long as the 'dignity of the crown and the real interests of the nation could be 'preserved without it. That what we had suffered already by foreign 'connections, ought to warn us against engaging lightly in quarrels, 'in which we had no immediate concern, and to which we might 'probably sacrifice our own most essential interests.'

yet we meet with it in JUNIUS:—"*upon occasion of* a jurisdiction unlawfully assumed by the House;" (ii. 235), "*upon occasion of* some clamour yesterday" (iii. 294.) &c. "*Thrown this whole country into a flame*" is a favourite metaphor with JUNIUS; vide the parallels at p. 239. And other instances, such as "*the constitution was violated*," "*repairing the single breach*," "*restore the constitution to present health*," &c. also indicate the hand of JUNIUS.

The speech of the Duke of Grafton possesses an interest of another kind, for JUNIUS himself gives a specimen of his lordship's eloquence, which, though it is too burlesque to be gravely compared with the present, exhibits a caricature of its manner. —Sir PHILIP heard the duke, and took notes of his speech in January, 1770; at the end of that year JUNIUS, mentioning his lordship's "talent for talking in public," says, "I have *often had the honour of hearing him.* With a very solemn and plausible delivery, he has a set of thoughts, or rather of words resembling thoughts, which may be applied indifferently, and with equal success, to all possible subjects. There is this singular advantage in his grace's method of discourse, that, if it were once admitted that he spoke well upon any one given topic, it would inevitably follow that he was qualified to deliver himself happily upon every subject whatsoever. He would be *ipso facto* an uni-

versal orator. Accept of the following specimen of his grace's eloquence, and, I promise you, you will be as well able to judge of his oratorial powers, as if you had heard him a thousand times.

"My lords, when I came into the House this day," &c. &c. (iii. 287.)

There is not a word here which Sir PHILIP FRANCIS might not have uttered, nor is the description altogether inapplicable to the speech which he has reported. This, joined with the circumstance of his having, like JUNIUS, preserved "a specimen of his grace's eloquence," is almost sufficient to unmask the Author of the Letters.

The *Duke of Grafton* was followed by

THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

'My lords, I meant to have risen immediately 'to second the motion made by the noble lord. 'The charge which the noble duke seemed to 'think affected himself particularly, did undoubt-'edly demand an early answer; it was proper 'he should speak before me, and I am as ready as 'any man to applaud the decency and propriety 'with which he has expressed himself.

'I entirely agree with the noble lord, both in 'the necessity of your lordships' concurring with 'the motion, and in the principles and arguments 'by which he has very judiciously supported it. I 'see clearly, that the complexion of our govern-

'ment has been materially altered; and I can trace 'the origin of the alteration up to a period, which 'ought to have been an æra of happiness and pros-'perity to this country.

'My lords, I shall give you my reasons for 'concurring with the motion,—not methodically, 'but as they occur to my mind. I may wander, 'perhaps, from the exact parliamentary debate; 'but I hope I shall say nothing but what may de-'serve your attention, and what, if not strictly pro-'per at present, would be fit to be said, when the 'state of the nation shall come to be considered. 'My uncertain state of health must plead my ex-'cuse. I am now in some pain, and very proba-'bly may not be able to attend my duty when I 'desire it most, in this house. I thank God, my 'lords, for having thus long preserved so incon-'siderable a being as I am, to take part upon this 'great occasion, and to contribute my endeavours, 'such as they are, to restore, to save, to confirm 'the constitution.

'My lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. 'The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It 'corrupts the very foundation of our political ex-'istence, and preys upon the vitals of the state.— 'The constitution has been grossly violated.—THE 'CONSTITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS VIO-'LATED. Until that wound be healed, until the 'grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recom-

'mend union to Parliament; in vain to promote 'concord among the people. If we mean seriously 'to unite the nation within itself, we must con- 'vince them that their complaints are regarded, 'that their inquiries shall be redressed. On that 'foundation I would take the lead in recommend- 'ing peace and harmony to the people. On any 'other, I would never wish to see them united 'again. If *the breach in the constitution* be effec- 'tually *repaired*,'—

JUNIUS.—"I would punish him in his off- "spring by *repairing the breaches* he has made." (i. *264, Aug. 21, 1771.)

———"You seem determined to compensate "amply for your former negligence; and to ba- "lance the non-execution of the laws with *a breach* "*of the constitution*." (i. 132, April 24, 1769.)

Speech continued.

—'the people will of themselves return to a state 'of tranquillity.—If not—MAY DISCORD PREVAIL 'FOR EVER*.

'I know to what point this doctrine and this 'language will appear directed. But I feel the 'principles of an Englishman, and I utter them 'without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is 'indeed alarming; so much the more does it re-

* FRANCIS.—"Let the war take its course; or as *I heard Lord* "CHATHAM *declare* in the House of Lords with a monarch's voice, "LET DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER." (On Paper Currency.)

'quire a prudent relaxation on the part of govern-
'ment. If the king's servants will not permit a
'constitutional question to be decided on, accord-
'ing to the forms, and on the principles of the con-
'stitution, it must then be decided in some other
'manner; and rather than it should be given up,
'rather than the nation should *surrender their birth-*
'right to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old
'as I am, I shall see the question *brought to issue*,
'and fairly tried between the *people and the go-*
'vernment.'

JUNIUS, on the same topic, has the same expression.—"The time is come, when the body of "the English people must assert their own cause: "conscious of their strength, and animated by a "sense of their duty, they will not *surrender their* "*birth-right to ministers*, parliaments, or kings." (ii. 115, March 19, 1770.)

———"Every measure of government opens "an ample field for a parliamentary inquisition. "*If this resource should fail us, our next and latest* "*appeal must be made to Heaven.*" (iii. 165, October 15, 1768.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'My lords, this is not the language of faction;
'let it be tried by that criterion, by which alone
'we can distinguish what is factious from what is
'not—by the principles of the English constitution.
'I have been bred up in those principles; and

'know, that when the liberty of the subject is in-
'vaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is
'justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I
'should follow the example set us by the most re-
'verend bench, with whom I believe it is a
'maxim, when any doubt in point of faith arises,
'or any question of controversy is started, to ap-
'peal at once to the greatest source and evidence
'of our religion—I mean the Holy Bible: the
'constitution has its *political Bible*, by which, if it
'be fairly consulted, every political question may
'and ought to be determined. *Magna Charta,*
'*the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights, form*
'*that code which I call the Bible of the English con-*
'*stitution.*'

JUNIUS speaks under this singular figure in the following passage.—"The civil constitution "too, that legal liberty, that general *creed*, which "every Englishman professes, may still be sup-"ported, though Wilkes, and Horne, and Town-"shend, and Sawbridge, should obstinately refuse "to *communicate;* and even if the *fathers of the* "*church*, if Savile, Richmond, Camden, Rocking-"ham, and Chatham, should disagree in the cere-"monies of their *political worship*, and even in the "interpretation of *twenty texts in Magna Charta.*" (ii. 346, October 5, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—'Had some of his majesty's unhappy predeces-

'sors trusted less to the comments of their ministers, had they been better read in the *text* itself, 'the *glorious* revolution would have remained only 'possible in theory, and would not now have existed upon record a formidable example to their 'successors.'

JUNIUS calls the decapitation of Charles "a "*glorious* act of substantial justice." (ii. 215, April 22, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

'My lords, I cannot agree with the noble 'duke, that nothing less than an immediate attack 'upon the honour or interest of this nation can 'authorise us to interpose in defence of weaker 'states, and in stopping the enterprizes of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, selfish 'policy has prevailed in our councils, we have constantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By suffering our natural enemies to oppress the powers 'less able than we are to make resistance, we have 'permitted them to increase their strength, we 'have lost the most favourable opportunities of 'opposing them with success, and found ourselves, 'at last, *obliged to run every hazard in making that 'cause our own*, in which we were not wise enough 'to take part, while the *expense and danger 'might have been supported by others.*—With respect to *Corsica*, I shall only say, that France 'has obtained a more useful and *important acquisi-*

'*tion* in one *pacific* campaign, than in any of her '*belligerent* campaigns; at least while I had the 'honour of administering the war against her.

JUNIUS.—"If, instead of disowning Lord "Shelburne, the British Court had interposed "with dignity and firmness, you know, my lord, "that *Corsica* would never have been invaded. "The French saw the weakness of a distracted "ministry, and were justified in treating you with "contempt. They would probably have yielded "in the first instance, rather than hazard a rup-"ture with this country; but being once engaged, "they cannot retreat without dishonour. Com-"mon sense foresees consequences which have es-"caped your grace's penetration. Either we suffer "the French to make an *acquisition*, the *importance* "of which you have probably no conception of; or "we oppose them by an underhand management, "which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, "without answering any purpose of policy or pru-"dence. From secret, indirect assistance, a tran-"sition to some more open decisive measures be-"comes unavoidable; till at last we find ourselves "*principals in the war*, and are *obliged to hazard* "*every thing* for an object which might have ori-"ginally been obtained without *expense or danger*." (i. 149, May 30, 1769.)

In this instance, the *words*, *sentiments*, and the very *train of thought* exactly accord, though

JUNIUS anticipated Lord CHATHAM by several months.

(*Speech continued.*)

—'The word may, perhaps, be thought singular: 'I mean only while I was the minister, chiefly en- 'trusted with the conduct of the war. I remem- 'ber, my lords, the time when Lorrain was united 'to the crown of France; that too was, in some 'measure, a pacific conquest; and there were peo- 'ple who talked of it as the noble duke now speaks 'of Corsica. France was permitted to take and 'keep possession of a noble province; and, ac- 'cording to his grace's ideas, we did right in not 'opposing it. The effect of these acquisitions is, 'I confess, not immediate; but they unite with 'the main body by degrees, and, in time, make a 'part of the national strength. I fear, my lords, 'it is too much the temper of this country to be 'insensible of the approach of danger, until it 'comes with accumulated terror upon us.

'My lords, the condition of his majesty's af- 'fairs in Ireland, and the state of that kingdom 'within itself, will undoubtedly make a very ma- 'terial part of your lordship's inquiry. I am not 'sufficiently informed to enter into the subject so 'fully as I could wish; but by what appears to 'the public, and from my own observation, I con- 'fess I cannot give the ministry much credit for 'the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I see,

'that even where their measures were well chosen, 'they are incapable of carrying them through, 'without some unhappy mixture of weakness or 'imprudence.—*They are incapable of doing entirely 'right.*'

JUNIUS says to the Duke of Grafton.—"There is something in both [your character and "conduct] which distinguishes you, not only from "all other ministers, but all other men. It is not "that you do wrong by design, *but that you should "never do right by mistake.*" (i. 140, May 30, 1769.)

(Speech continued.)

—'My lords, I do from my conscience, and from 'the best weighed principles of my understanding, 'applaud the augmentation of the army. As a 'military plan, I believe it has been judiciously ar-'ranged. In a political view, I am convinced it 'was for the welfare, for the safety of the whole 'empire. But, my lords, with all these advan-'tages, with all these recommendations, if I had 'the honour of advising his majesty, I would never 'have consented to his accepting the augmenta-'tion, with that absurd dishonourable condition, 'which the ministry have submitted to annex to 'it. My lords, I revere the *just prerogative of the 'crown*, and would contend for it as warmly as for 'the *rights of the people. They are linked together,* 'and naturally support each other. I would not

'touch a *feather* of the prerogative.' The expres-
'sion, perhaps, is too light; but since I have made
'use of it, let me add, that the entire command
'and power of directing the local disposition of
'the army is the royal prerogative, as the *master*
'*feather in the eagle's wing;* and if I were permit-
'ted to carry the allusion a little farther, I would
'say, they have disarmed the *imperial bird,* the
'*Ministrum Fulminis Alitem.* The army is the
'thunder of the crown.—The ministry have tied
'up the hand which should direct the bolt.'

JUNIUS.—"The ministry, it seems, are labour-
"ing to draw a line of distinction between the
"*honour of the crown* and the *rights of the people.*
"This new idea has yet been only started in dis-
"course; for in effect, both objects have been
"equally sacrificed. I neither understand the
"distinction, nor what use the ministry propose
"to make of it. *The king's honour is that of the*
"*people. Their real honour and interest are the same.*
"I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A
"clear unblemished character comprehends not
"only the integrity that will not offer, but the
"spirit that will not submit to an injury; and
"whether it belongs to an individual or to a com-
"munity, it is the foundation of peace, of inde-
"pendence, and of safety. Private credit is
"wealth;—public honour is security.—*The feather*

" *that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight.* " *Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the* " *earth.*" (ii. 194, January 30, 1771.)

This fine figure affords another proof of that perfect consimilitude of thought, which is visible throughout these Speeches, and the Letters of JUNIUS.

(*Speech continued.*)

' My lords, I remember that Minorca was lost ' for want of four battalions. They could not be ' spared from hence; and there was a delicacy ' about taking them from Ireland. I was one of ' those who promoted an inquiry into that matter ' in the other house; and I was convinced we had ' not regular troops sufficient for the necessary ser- ' vice of the nation. Since the moment the plan ' of augmentation was first talked of, I have con- ' stantly and warmly supported it among my ' friends: I have recommended it to several mem- ' bers of the Irish House of Commons, and ex- ' horted them to support it with their utmost ' interest in parliament. I did not foresee, nor ' could I conceive it possible, the ministry would ' accept of it, with a condition that makes the plan ' itself ineffectual, and, as far as it operates, defeats ' every useful purpose of maintaining a standing ' military force. His majesty is now so confined ' by his promise, that he must leave twelve thou- ' sand men locked up in Ireland, let the situation

'of his affairs abroad, or the approach of danger 'to this country be ever so alarming, unless there 'be an actual rebellion, or invasion in Great Bri- 'tain. Even in the two cases excepted by the 'king's promise, the mischief must have already 'begun to operate, must have already taken effect, 'before his majesty can be authorised to send for 'the assistance of his Irish army. He has not 'left himself the power of taking any preventive 'measures, let his intelligence be ever so certain, 'let his apprehensions of invasion or rebellion be 'ever so well founded: unless the traitor be actu- 'ally in arms, unless the enemy be in the heart of 'your country, he cannot move a single man from 'Ireland.

'I feel myself compelled, my lords, to return 'to that subject which occupies and interests 'me most; I mean the internal disorder of the 'constitution, and the remedy it demands. But 'first, I would observe, there is one point upon 'which I think the noble duke has not explained 'himself. *I do not mean to catch at words, but 'if possible, to possess the sense of what I hear**. 'I would treat every man with candour, and 'should expect the same candour in return. For 'the noble duke, in particular, I have every per- 'sonal respect and regard. I never desire to un- 'derstand him, but as he wishes to be understood.

* See the parallels from JUNIUS at p. 246.

'His grace, I think, has laid much stress upon 'the diligence of the several public offices, and 'the assistance given them by the administration, 'in preparing a state of the expenses of his ma-'jesty's civil government, for the information of 'parliament, and for the satisfaction of the public. 'He has given us a number of plausible reasons 'for their not having yet been able to finish the 'account; but, as far as I am able to recollect, he 'has not yet given us the smallest reason to hope 'that it ever will be finished; or that it ever will 'be laid before Parliament.

'My lords, I am not unpractised in business, 'and if, with all that apparent diligence, and all 'that assistance which the noble duke speaks of, 'the accounts in question have not yet been made 'up, I am convinced there must be a defect in 'some of the public offices, which ought to be 'strictly inquired into, and severely punished. But 'my lords, the waste of the public money is not 'of itself so important as the pernicious purpose 'to which we have reason to suspect that money 'has been applied. For some years past, there has 'been an influx of wealth into this country, which 'has been attended with many fatal consequences, 'because it has not been the regular, natural pro-'duce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia 'have been poured in upon us, and have brought

'with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, 'Asiatic principles of government. Without con- 'nections, without any natural interest in the soil, 'the importers of foreign gold have forced their 'way into Parliament, by such a torrent of private 'corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could 'resist. My lords, not saying but what is within 'the knowledge of us all, the corruption of the 'people is the great original cause of the discon- 'tents of the people themselves, of the enterprise 'of the crown, and the notorious decay of the in- 'ternal vigour of the constitution. For this great 'evil some immediate remedy must be provided; 'and I confess, my lords, I did hope, that his ma- 'jesty's servants would not have suffered so many 'years of peace to elapse, without paying some 'attention to an object, which ought to engage and 'interest us all. I flattered myself I should see 'some *barriers thrown up in defence of the constitu- 'tion*, some impediment formed to stop the rapid 'progress of corruption.'—

JUNIUS.—"With regard to the articles taken "separately, I am concerned to see that the great "condition which ought to be the *sine quâ non* of "parliamentary qualification, which ought to be "the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support "of every *barrier raised in defence of the constitu- "tion*,—I mean a declaration upon oath to shorten

" the duration of parliaments, is reduced to the " fourth rank in the esteem of the society." (i. *284, September 7, 1771.)

—' I doubt not we all agree that something must ' be done. I shall offer my thoughts, such as they ' are, to the consideration of the House: and I ' wish that every noble lord who hears me would ' be as ready as I am to contribute his opinion to ' this important service. I will not call my own ' sentiments crude and indigested: it would be ' unfit for me to offer any thing to your lordships, ' which I had not well considered; and this sub- ' ject, I own, has long occupied my thoughts. I ' will now give them to your lordships without ' reserve.

' Whoever understands the *theory of the Eng- ' lish constitution*, and will compare it with the ' *fact*, must see at once how *widely they differ*."

JUNIUS.—" Certainly nothing can be *less re- " concileable* to the *theory*, than the present *practice* " *of the constitution*." (i. 286, Sept. 7, 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

—' We must reconcile them to each other, if we ' wish to save the liberties of this country; we must ' reduce our political *practice* as nearly as possible ' to our principles. The constitution intended that ' there should be a permanent relation between the ' constituent and representative body of the peo- ' ple. Will any man affirm, that, as the House of

'Commons is now formed, that relation is in any 'degree preserved? My lords, it is not preserved, 'it is destroyed. *Let us be cautious*, however, *how 'we have recourse to violent expedients.*'

JUNIUS.—"That the people are not equally and "fully represented is unquestionable.—*But let us "take care what we attempt.*" (i. *286, Sept. 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

'The boroughs of this country have properly 'enough been called the *rotten parts* of the consti- 'tution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without 'entering into any invidious particularity, have 'seen enough to justify the appellation. But in 'my judgment, my lords, these *boroughs*, corrupt 'as they are, must be considered as the natural in- 'firmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities 'of the body, we must bear them with patience, 'and submit to carry them about with us. The 'limb is *mortified*, but the *amputation* might be 'death.'

JUNIUS.—"As to *cutting away the rotten "boroughs*, I am as much offended as any man at "seeing so many of them under the direct influ- "ence of the crown, or at the disposal of private "persons; yet, I own, I have both doubts and ap- "prehensions, in regard to the remedy you pro- "pose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an un- "usual want of political intrepidity, when I ho- "nestly confess to you, that I am startled at the "idea of so extensive an *amputation.* * * *

——" When all your instruments of *amputation* are prepared—when the unhappy patient " lies bound at your feet, without the possibility of " resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct " the operation? When you propose to cut away " the *rotten parts*, can you tell us what parts are " perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits in " fact or theory, to inform you at what point you " must stop—at what point the *mortification* ends?" (i. 287, 289, Sept. 7, 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

' Let us try, my lords, whether some gentler ' remedies may not be discovered. Since we can- ' not cure the disorder, let us endeavour to *infuse* ' *such a portion of new health into the constitution,* ' *as may enable it to support its most inveterate dis-* ' *eases.*'

JUNIUS.—" Besides that I approve highly of " Lord CHATHAM's idea of ' *infusing a portion of* " *new health into the constitution, to enable it to bear* " *its infirmities,*' (a brilliant expression, and full " of intrinsic wisdom,) other reasons concur in " persuading me to adopt it." (i.* 290, Sept. 7, 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

' The representation of the counties is, I think, ' still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of ' the greatest cities is upon a footing equally re- ' spectable; and there are many of the larger trad-

'ing towns, which still preserve their indepen-
'dence. The infusion of health which I now al-
'lude to, would be to permit every county to elect
'one member more, in addition to their present
'representation. The *knights of the shires* ap-
'proach nearest to the constitutional representa-
'tion of the country, because they represent the
'soil.'

JUNIUS.—"*Lord* CHATHAM'S *project, for in-*
"*stance, of increasing the number of knights of*
"*shires, appears to me admirable;* and the moment
"we have obtained a triennial Parliament it ought
"to be tried." (i. *287, Sept. 7, 1771.)

(Speech continued.)

'It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it
'is in the great cities and counties that the
'strength and vigour of the constitution resides,
'and by them alone, if an unhappy question
'should ever rise, will the constitution be honest-
'ly and firmly defended. I would increase that
'strength, because I think it is the only security
'we have against the profligacy of the times, the
'corruption of the people, and the ambition of the
'crown.

'I think I have weighed every possible objec-
'tion that can be raised against a plan of this
'nature; and I confess I see but one, which, to
'me, carries any appearances of solidity. It may
'be said, perhaps, that when the act passed for

'uniting the two kingdoms, the number of per-
'sons who were to represent the whole nation in
'Parliament was proportioned and fixed on for
'ever—That this limitation is a fundamental *ar-*
'*ticle,* and cannot be altered without hazarding a
'dissolution *of the union.*

'My lords, no man who hears me can have a
'greater reverence for that wise and important act
'than I have. I revere the memory of that great
'prince who first formed the plan, and of those
'illustrious patriots who carried it into execution.
'As a contract, *every article of it should be invio-*
'*lable;* as the common basis of the strength and
'happiness of two nations, *every article of it should*
'*be sacred.*'

JUNIUS.—"I am far from meaning to im-
"peach the *articles of the union.*" (i. 40, Dec. 1771.)

(*Speech continued.*)

'I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a
'thought so detestable, as to propose an advan-
'tage to one of the contracting parties at the ex-
'pense of the other. No, my lords, I mean that
'the benefit should be universal, and the consent
'to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a
'most urgent and important occasion should per-
'suade me to vary even from the letter of the act;
'but there is no occasion, however urgent, how-

'ever important, that should ever induce me to 'depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be 'religiously preserved. Let us follow the princi- 'ple upon which the representation of the two 'countries was proportioned at the union; and 'when we increase the number of representatives 'for the English counties, let the shires of Scot- 'land be allowed an equal privilege. On these 'terms, and while the proportion limited by the 'union is preserved by the two nations, I apprehend 'that no man, who is a friend to either, will object 'to an alteration, so necessary for the security of 'both. I do not speak of the authority of the le- 'gislature to carry such a measure into effect, be- 'cause I imagine no man will dispute it. But I 'would not wish the legislature to interpose by an 'exertion of its power alone, without the cheerful 'concurrence of all parties. My object is the hap- 'piness and security of the two nations, and I 'would not wish to obtain it without their mutual 'consent.

'My lords, besides my warm approbation of 'the motion made by the noble lord, I have a na- 'tural and personal pleasure in rising up to second 'it. I consider my seconding his lordship's mo- 'tion, and I would wish it to be considered by 'others, as a public demonstration of that cordial 'union, which, I am happy to affirm, subsists be- 'tween us—of my attachment to those principles

'which he has so well defended, and of my respect
'for his person. There has been a time, my lords,
'when those who wished well to neither of us, who
'wished to see us separated for ever, found a suf-
'ficient gratification for their malignity against us
'both. But that time is happily at an end. The
'friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear
'with pleasure, that the noble lord and his friends
'are now united with me and mine, upon a prin-
'ciple which, I trust, will make our union indis-
'soluble. It is not to possess or divide the emo-
'luments of government; but, if possible, to save
'the state. Upon this ground we met—upon this
'ground we stand firm and inseparable. No mi-
'nisterial artifices, no private offers, no secret se-
'duction can divide us. United as we are, we can
'set the profoundest policy of the present ministry,
'their grand, their only arcanum of government,
'their *divide et impera*, at defiance.

'I hope an early day will be agreed to for con-
'sidering the state of the nation. My infirmities
'must fall heavily upon me indeed, if I do not at-
'tend my duty that day. When I consider my
'age, and unhappy state of health, I feel how little
'I am personally interested in the event of any
'political question: but I look forward to others,
'and am determined, as far as my poor ability ex-
'tends, to convey to those who come after me, the

'blessings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myself.'

"The House agreed to fixing the twenty-fourth day of January, for taking into consideration the state of the nation. But at that time there being no Lord Chancellor, the motion was adjourned to the second of February. On the twenty-ninth of January, four days previous to the next debate, the Duke of Grafton resigned*."

* Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, ii. p. 133.

CHAPTER XVII.

A PRESUMPTION favourable to the main hypothesis of this investigation is raised, and ought to have weight, from the successful issue of that part of our inquiry which relates to the author of the preceding speeches.—None but internal evidence led to the conclusion that Sir PHILIP FRANCIS reported them, yet we have seen that by competent authority that judgment has been pronounced correct. Now, what has taken place in the one instance we may fairly infer would ensue in the other, provided the requisite authority could be as freely appealed to, and with the same chance of getting an impartial and decided answer.—But disregarding the connection of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS with the preceding speeches, let us now consider whether they contain sufficient evidence for determining them to be the composition of JUNIUS. To decide this question satisfactorily we must lay aside the feelings of an advocate, and view it with the strictest justice.

That JUNIUS took great interest in the debates at this period, is proved by his Letters to Wood-

fall. Whatever might be his personal views, it is very certain that they depended upon a change of ministers, and at this time he had the greatest reason to hope that some alteration would be effected. Nor was that expectation altogether disappointed, though his private views were frustrated. In consequence of the great exertions of Lord CHATHAM at the opening of Parliament, the ministry were thrown into confusion. The secession of Lord Camden from the chancellorship attended his first speech, and the resignation of the Duke of Grafton followed his second. As these were important events to JUNIUS, so the means by which they were brought about must have been regarded by him with particular interest. But he leaves no doubt of this, for on December 12, 1769, one month before the opening of Parliament, he tells Woodfall, "I am now meditating a *capital* and I hope a *final* piece;—you shall hear of it shortly." Then follows his famous Letter to the King, in which the dissolution of Parliament and a change of administration are urged with all the ability of which the writer was capable. He might justly deem it a "capital" piece, and hope it would be "final," that is, effective of the removal of ministers, and of the elevation of his own friends; in contemplation of which, he promises Woodfall in his next Letter, dated December 26, 1769. "If things take *the turn* I expect, you shall *know me by*

my works." In January came the speeches of Lord CHATHAM, following up the blows of JUNIUS with an effect that must have been highly gratifying to him, though the *turn* which he desired did not take place. Lord North became minister in the place of the Duke of Grafton, and the great seal was put in commission. JUNIUS and Lord CHATHAM still, however, fought under the same banner: and when the remonstrance of the city of London was presented, the former supported it by a Letter, which he told Woodfall to give notice of by the extraordinary method of "dispersing a few hand-bills;" so earnest was he in bringing on that change before specified: adding, "Pray do whatever you think will answer this purpose best, for *now is the crisis.*" And on the following day, having heard that Lord CHATHAM intended supporting the Westminster remonstrance, he writes in the flush of hope, "I have no doubt that *we shall conquer them at last.*" Alluding to these speeches he says in a private Letter to Wilkes, "*Chatham has gallantly thrown away the scabbard, and never flinched. From that moment I began to like him**." Identified thus in one object with Lord CHATHAM, we have, *primâ facie*, every reason to think that JUNIUS took such interest in the debates of the 9th and 22d of January, 1770, as would lead him

* JUNIUS, i. 321.

(if ever) to be present on those evenings; and if he took notes at any time, that it would be on those occasions. Let us see then, since he was in the habit of doing both, whether the speeches in question, from internal evidence, might not fairly be concluded to have come from him. We need not go far; the first parallel (p. 267) shews that he was present, and took notes at *that* debate. The sentiments and expressions of JUNIUS, for the space of ten lines, were borrowed from what now appears to have been Lord CHATHAM's speech, and this without any acknowledgment, though the passage in the Letter was written nearly two years after the speech was made. The words are not exactly the same, but they are as near as the notes, from which we suppose them to be taken, would render necessary; they are as near as any man writing at two distant periods, from the same notes, would be likely to make them;—they convey the *same thoughts* in the *same order*, with the fidelity of a *literal translation*. Now in what way is this to be accounted for? There was no report printed from which the passage could have been quoted, nor would the plagiary have passed without observation if the original had been known. The inference is unavoidable, that he who wrote the Letters was likewise the Reporter of the Speech.

Many other passages from the same speech lead to the conclusion, that JUNIUS had it in his

memory when he wrote at a subsequent period: but let us proceed to the second debate, and see whether in that also the internal evidence is such as we have met with in the former. In the first place, JUNIUS seems to have borrowed from this speech those remarkable metaphors, the political *Bible* (p. 327), and the *feather that adorns the royal bird*, &c. (p. 339); to have taken them he must have heard the debate, for they are not elsewhere in print. Secondly, in a *private* Letter to Wilkes, he speaks of *cutting away the rotten boroughs*, in the figurative language of the speech, and with the same doubts as to the policy of the act. Thirdly, he not only alludes to the proposal of Lord CHATHAM to increase the knights of shires, but he quotes a passage from the speech before us, in so very nearly the same words, that we know not how to account for it, unless by the supposition that he was himself the reporter. Under that idea the coincidence explains itself; though when it is considered that *notes* only were taken of the speech, it may appear surprising that the two passages, when fully expressed, should bear so close a resemblance to each other. But it is probable that the speech, though not published till twenty years after, was composed while the original was fresh in the writer's memory, which has caused it to be so intermingled with the

thoughts and expressions of JUNIUS. For, if viewed as the production of another mind, it is equally unaccountable how much the Speech in return owes to the Letters. Lord CHATHAM borrows an illustration from the latter, (p. 269) with the same freedom that JUNIUS quotes his lordship: and there is an equal departure from literal precision in both cases,—a proof that the thoughts at first all emanated from the same mind, and were the property of one writer, whatever names he might assume. Lastly, the style throughout bears marks of the composition of JUNIUS. It is not Lord CHATHAM who says "*the kingdom is in a flame*" (p. 308), but JUNIUS; for he twice makes use of the same phrase himself, as early as the year 1768, and he puts it also in the mouth of Lord Mansfield, and the Marquis of Rockingham. As little reason is there to think that "*the simplicity of common sense*," "*a false fact*," "*power without right*," "*silken barons*," "*upon occasion of*," and many other peculiar phrases, are the words of Lord CHATHAM, the Marquis of Rockingham, or the Duke of Grafton, for they are all found in JUNIUS, according to our previous extracts.

Now, as the same examples of style which betray these speeches to be the composition of JUNIUS, are also conspicuous peculiarities in the writings of

Sir PHILIP FRANCIS,—and as he is certainly *proved to be the author of these speeches*, so by them, and independently of all other evidence, is he IDENTIFIED WITH JUNIUS*.

A comparison of the above speeches of Lord CHATHAM with those reported by Boyd, leads to the same conclusion. Boyd, as the professed imitator of the style of JUNIUS, and a voluntary candidate for his fame, may be expected to write *more in his style than any man* except the *real Junius*. The two speeches of Lord CHATHAM which Boyd reported, may be seen in the Anecdotes of Lord CHATHAM†, and in the Parliamentary History for 1775 and 1777: "and it has been affirmed by several persons who heard the noble lord on both days, that they contain very strong and peculiar marks of accuracy:" so, at least, says Almon, who was the principal supporter of Boyd's pretensions to be JUNIUS. Here then is a plain and practical test, by which we may try whether Sir PHILIP

* Might not JUNIUS allude to these speeches in the following passage? (Letter to Horne, August 13, 1771.) "If he [Lord CHATHAM] judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him *to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision*, even the pen of JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument and thicken over him." This promise has not been kept except in *these* recorded honours; and observe, they were not promised till his death, therefore they must have been somewhat of this description.

† VOL. ii. pp. 256 and 298.

FRANCIS has a better title, than every other person, to the authorship of the Letters. Now could any one produce from Boyd's Reports even half the instances of resemblance in style which have been pointed out in the Reports by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, I would allow that the great question is not yet decided. But in Boyd's Reports there is no more likeness to JUNIUS, than may be met with in the works of almost any modern author. It is astonishing that he should exhibit so little of the phraseology of JUNIUS, when treating of subjects which more particularly demand the characteristics of his style.—On the other hand, the language of JUNIUS may be traced in every line of the Reports of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS: it is visible, to those acquainted with it, in numberless instances not mentioned in the parallels. The result, therefore, is equally satisfactory with our former statement. Like other baffled suitors, Mr. Boyd is found to be unequal to his task; while Sir PHILIP, without any pretence or parade, no sooner "draws the mighty bow" than he reveals himself;—

> "The whizzing arrow vanished from the string,
> Sung on direct, and *threaded every ring*."

Let us now consider what support this conclusion may derive from other circumstances.

I. There is a perfect conformity in the general character of JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP as authors.

Both of them disdain the "*slow methods of induction*, and *lighten rather than reason*" on their subject. The language of both "*is figurative and expressive in perfection.*" And for "*harmony*" of style, it is impossible to say which of them is most highly commended. There is indeed an extraordinary consent in the description which has been thus given, by two different critics, of the style of these apparently different writers.

II. Both JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS shew an equal partiality for certain phrases or forms of expression, scarcely to be met with elsewhere in a single instance, and collectively without parallel in any other writer: as, "*so far forth*," "*the laws of his side*," "*ray of understanding*," "*colour of truth*," "*the voice of truth and reason*," "*can any man in his senses affirm*," "*in the name of God and common sense*," "Abraham, *what say you*," "*little 3 per cents*," "*silken barons*," "*power without right*," "*false fact*," "*the game is up*," "*halloo* of government, &c. &c."

III. Both employ similar *metaphorical* language of an unusual kind,—sometimes whole *sentences* are given word for word the same,—and in an uncommon case of personification, (p. 251) Sir PHILIP addresses a long paragraph to the House of Commons in the very strain of JUNIUS's Letter to the King.

IV. Both express the same opinions, cautions,

maxims, and rules of conduct, in nearly the same words. Both adopt the same quotations, in three instances. And Sir PHILIP twice introduces, in one of his speeches, a maxim which JUNIUS had extracted and translated from the writings of De Lolme.

V. The leading political views of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS are shewn to be those of JUNIUS, by the Essay on the Regency. Both were independent of every regular party*. They thought exactly alike on the great question of taxing America, differing from Lord CHATHAM, as well as from the ministers who pressed that measure. Both were the friends of Parliamentary reform,—denouncing annual and proposing triennial returns; but equally averse to the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, to granting large towns the privilege of being represented, and to any other innovations on the established system. Both encouraged constitutional clubs; and the one instituted by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS had its denomination antecedently in the Letters of JUNIUS.

* JUNIUS said, that he was "disowned as a dangerous auxiliary by every party in the kingdom." Equally unfettered in opinion, Sir P. FRANCIS, in 1784, having occasion to differ from Mr. Fox, observed, "I am not a *party man in this or any other question:* I have not the honour of living on any habits of acquaintance with the right honourable gentleman, nor do I believe that ever I spoke fifty words to him above once in my life."—*Speech, July* 1, 1784.—And when Mr. Fox came into power, he certainly shewed by his neglect of Sir PHILIP, that no political ties existed between his party and the latter.

VI. Without being duly educated for the bar, each had a considerable knowledge of the law; each entertained a hostile feeling towards those lawyers, whether Lord Chief Justice, or Lord Chancellor, who suffered their minds to be swayed by the illiberal maxims and practices of their profession; and each thought that few lawyers could be found who were above such influence. Both were profoundly intimate with the theory and practice of the constitution, and though scarcely any two persons think alike on this widely branching subject, yet those before us take the same view, from first principles to their remotest consequences.

VII. Sir P. FRANCIS was peculiarly qualified for writing the Letters of JUNIUS. He had access to the best sources for political instruction: and he tells us how early he began to turn every thing that passed before him, or was recorded in history, some way or other to his own account. Like JUNIUS, he acquired extensive classical knowledge without attending any English university; and his having been born and partly brought up in Ireland, accords with the general suspicion that JUNIUS was a native of that country.

VIII. Both were of ardent and irritable dispositions, subject to the extremes of zeal and indifference, enthusiasm and despondency. In the disorder and embarrassment with which Sir PHILIP

spoke in Parliament, may be traced one cause why the flow of his eloquence did not discover him to be JUNIUS; and another may be found in that habit of compression and selection which he cultivated in writing, which made composition such a labour to JUNIUS, and which impeded, it is said, the pen of Sir PHILIP, in drawing up his Indian minutes.—In external appearance Sir PHILIP resembles the tall gentleman who was seen to convey a letter from JUNIUS. His portrait is characteristic of the author. And adequate cause is found, in the undoubted gaiety and gallantry of JUNIUS, for concluding that his years did not exceed those of Sir PHILIP.

IX. That JUNIUS had a personal regard for *Woodfall* has been noticed by others; and it now appears that Sir PHILIP entertained a similar regard, founded on an acquaintance formed when they were boys. They were together at the same school; with the difference of one year only between their ages. When Woodfall declined printing what JUNIUS had sent him, the latter then forwarded it to *Almon* for publication; and *Almon* was also assisted, in a similar way, by the communications of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

X. Though neither JUNIUS nor Sir PHILIP FRANCIS were at that time members of parliament, yet they attended the debates in both houses; both were in the House of Lords at the

same time, on two particular occasions; both were accustomed to take notes and report speeches, especially those of Lord Chatham; and two of the latter by Sir PHILIP, and one of Burke's by JUNIUS, were sent in a perfect state to Almon for publication. JUNIUS makes reference in his Private Letters to portions of Lord CHATHAM'S speeches then unpublished, though afterwards reported by Sir P. FRANCIS; and the latter to this day sometimes quotes from other speeches of the same nobleman, of which there exists at present no printed record*.

XI. JUNIUS seems to have been personally known to *Garrick*, who was the intimate friend of Dr. FRANCIS, and therefore acquainted with Sir PHILIP. JUNIUS "*designedly spared*" Lord *Holland* and his family, for some very cogent reasons; and to that nobleman Sir PHILIP and his father

* See the Letter Missive to Lord Holland, where the following passage occurs: "In the sonorous language of Lord CHATHAM,

'Whose voice divine still vibrates on my ear,'

to chain Britain, like Prometheus, to a rock, while a vulture, by settlement without wings, gnawed her to the heart, and devoured her vitals."

If Sir PHILIP is in possession of any reports of Lord CHATHAM'S speeches not yet in print, it is to be hoped that he will not withhold them much longer from the world. Perhaps he may be able to supply the debates on the 5th, and 13th of February, 1771, respecting Falkland Island, which JUNIUS was so desirous to hear, (see p. 128,) and of which, Almon says, it is not known that any notes were taken.

were under the strongest obligations. Under the administration of Mr. *Grenville*, Sir PHILIP was appointed to the War-office; with that statesman he most nearly concurred in all political opinions; and Mr. Grenville was above all men the declared favourite of JUNIUS. Sir PHILIP describes Lord *Chatham* as a "great, illustrious, *faulty* human being;" and JUNIUS speaks of him with the same *qualified* admiration.

XII. JUNIUS avows his acquaintance with the Secretary of State's office, mentions a circumstance which occurred when Lord Egremont was secretary, and speaks of him as if he knew him thoroughly. Sir PHILIP was brought up in the same office, possessed the favour of the same nobleman, and held a place under him at the time that circumstance happened. And, generally speaking, his opportunities of acquiring information, from his connection with the *public offices*, were such as fully account for the extraordinary *nature*, *extent*, and *variety* of the intelligence possessed by JUNIUS*,

* A very sensible, dispassionate Letter respecting JUNIUS, inserted in the Anti-Jacobin Review for 1799, contains the substance of a conversation which passed between the writer and Wilkes, after examining the Letters which the latter had received from JUNIUS. Among other remarks, it is observed that "the Letters, generally, if not always, were sent in an envelope, (which was then by no means so general as it now is,) and in the folding up and the direction of the Letter, we thought we could see *marks of the writer's habit of folding*

XIII. From the minute military observations introduced in the controversy with Sir William Draper, from the narrative of General Gansel's rescue in sight of the Horse Guards, from the notice of Colonel Burgoyne's appointment to the government of Fort St. George *immediately* after it took place, and from the *premature* announcement of that of Colonel Luttrell to be adjutant-general in Ireland, (JUNIUS, ii. 156,) it has been long suspected that JUNIUS was in some degree connected with the Horse Guards. But the Private and Miscellaneous Letters lately published, place it beyond a doubt. The War-office is the *scene* of several dramatic representations; and there is such precision in the secret intelligence from that quarter, conveyed to Woodfall or to the public, as occurs in no other department of the state, and could not be acquired from this, except by one who had access to the fountain head for information. The familiar manner in which JUNIUS speaks of Chamier, Bradshaw, Whateley, Lord Barrington, and such others as the chief clerk in the War-office must have been well acquainted with, connects him still more closely with Sir P. FRANCIS.

and directing official letters." They also determined "that he had lived with military men, from the *propriety of his language on military subjects.*" This last opinion agrees with that of Malone, who argues that Hamilton could not be the author, as "he had none of that *minute and commissarial knowledge of petty military matters* which is displayed in some of the earlier papers of JUNIUS."

XIV. From the commencement to the termination of the Letters of JUNIUS, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS held a situation in the War-office, requiring almost constant attendance. When he quitted that office, and went abroad, in 1772, the Letters ceased; and when he returned to England at the beginning of 1773, a note, finally closing the correspondence, was transmitted to Woodfall*. From that time till 1781, Sir PHILIP was engaged in the government of India.

XV. Sir P. FRANCIS lost his situation at the War-office in consequence of a quarrel with Lord Barrington, against whom JUNIUS at the same time expressed the most violent animosity. *Chamier* was the successful rival of Sir PHILIP, and he is every where treated by JUNIUS with unsparing severity. The transactions of the War-office are detailed with the accuracy of an eye-witness; but for greater security under the name of *Veteran*; and the printer is cautioned not to let it be known that these letters came from JUNIUS.

Lastly. JUNIUS is brought into close contact with Sir P. FRANCIS by writing, under the signature of VETERAN, most vehemently in his favour;

* It is probable that JUNIUS was out of the kingdom all this time, because the vellum-bound copy which he ordered, he tells Woodfall, on May 3, 1772, he was "*in no manner of hurry for*," nor does it appear that he had an opportunity of receiving it till March, 1773.

by mentioning his name in terms of *unqualified approbation;* and by *altogether retiring from the public service when Sir Philip left the War-office**.

The author of the Preliminary Essay, after analysing the whole of the Letters with a view to ascertain the characteristics of JUNIUS, comes to this conclusion: that he was "an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution, and history of his native country; that he was a man of easy, if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own ac-

* While this edition was passing through the press, it was suggested to me that those, who have not read the private Notes of JUNIUS to Woodfall, might perhaps have a doubt whether the Letters in the name of VETERAN were actually written by JUNIUS. For their satisfaction, the following Note and comment are inserted. "January 25, 1772. Having nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public, with torturing that *********** Barrington. He has just appointed a French broker his deputy, for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw. I hear from all quarters, that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the army. Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of JUNIUS. I am impatient for the book." "*The Letter which accompanied this note,*" says the Editor, "*is numbered* CV. *in the Miscellaneous Collection, and the signature of* JUNIUS *will be found exchanged for that of* VETERAN."—It is given at large in page 77 of the present volume.

count: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets: that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world: that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the Public Advertiser; that, in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable, and impetuous; subject to political prejudices, and strong personal animosities, but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the established church; and though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession.

"What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not; but these are sufficient; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly, is in vain brought forwards as the author of the Letters of JUNIUS*."

* JUNIUS, i. 99.

The reader need scarcely be told, that this test, though it has proved fatal to every other conjecture, tallies with our present case, point for point. Nor does Sir P. FRANCIS possess only the general air of resemblance here stated to be *sufficient*, he also answers in every finer lineament to the character of JUNIUS.—With the ability, and the opportunity, he had the *inducement* to write the Letters. He is proved to have possessed the constitutional principles, political opinions, and personal views of the author. His public attachments and animosities were the same. He had the same private friends, acquaintances, and opponents. In the country of his birth, in the mode of his education, in his opportunities of political instruction, early initiation into state affairs, and inclination to profit by his advantages;—in having access to the first sources of information respecting the king, the court, the cabinet, and every department under government, with which JUNIUS seems familiar, the resemblance is most strikingly preserved. It is heightened by his having the same disposition, hopes and fears, habits, pursuits, and even personal appearance. In attending Parliament without being a member,—in the practice of taking notes and reporting speeches,—in hearing the same debates, and quoting the same speeches, even at the time they were unpublished,—in writing anonymously,—and in employing, throughout all his

works, similar phrases, metaphors, sentiments, illustrations, maxims, quotations, and trains of thought, the identity is still further apparent. But in his connection with the War-office, in that excessive zeal and evidently personal feeling with which his own interests are maintained and his name is mentioned,—in the critical period of his retiring from the public service,—in the duration of his absence from England,—and in the time of his return, with his consequent departure for India, we meet with proofs which inevitably shew that he is JUNIUS. But if the facts, separately taken, are so decisive, what must be the effect of them collectively? The addition of every fresh circumstance of similitude increases, not numerically, but in a geometrical ratio, the force of all that have preceded it. Or we may consider the matter in another sense, and the result will be the same: it has been tried to assimilate the character of JUNIUS with that of other writers; but the successive application of each of the characteristics laid down in the quotation from the Preliminary Essay, diminishes at every step the number of those writers who were previously not excluded, so that at last we find not one, besides Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, who is able to stand that test: now if we still pursue the same practice in regard to him, with each additional particular disclosed in the Letters, and *wholly* included in our summary, yet after all find it impossible to pro-

duce the slightest appearance of disunion between him and JUNIUS, we must be convinced that the two characters are essentially, and in fact the same.

JUNIUS certainly hit the mark, though perhaps without intending it, when he told Woodfall, "YOU SHALL KNOW ME BY MY WORKS." It is by these alone that he is now revealed: no secrecy has been violated—no sanctuary invaded. The *disjecti membra* of our discovery lay scattered in various places, but all in public view; and the writer of this work has only collected them together, which any other person might have done. He knows Sir PHILIP FRANCIS solely as a public man; and was even unacquainted with his *hand-writing* till this work was in the press. Since then he has seen it, and he can assure the reader that it resembles in every respect the hand-writing of JUNIUS. The characters have the same peculiar shapes, and a general likeness is visible at first sight, in spite of the disguise. In the construction of the private notes there is a singular degree of uniformity: they usually begin without the ceremony of an address, though written in the first person, and conclude without signature, as in the notes to Woodfall; but where the signature is added, it generally consists of the initials P. F. with a strong dash of the pen above and below, exactly like the signature C. in the fac similes of JUNIUS.

—These particulars are mentioned, lest it should be thought that the hand-writing is dissimilar, and that for this reason a specimen is not given. From the importance attached to evidence of that kind, it cannot be supposed that pains were not taken to obtain it, but no piece of writing of sufficient length, and early enough in point of time, could easily be met with. This notice may perhaps draw from some friendly quarter the proper documents. For these, however, the writer is the less anxious, because he was not guided in his own inquiry by any such assistance. He considered the subject as a *question of history, affording a fair field for literary investigation;* and if he has not made good his cause in an honourable manner *by the aid of books alone,* he will be contented to lose it.

Upper Harley Street. 20th January 1785.

My dear Sir.

I received the favour of your Letter, with a real Sensation of Pleasure, but not unmixed with some Uneasiness.

× × × × × × × × × ×

You will easily conceive that, in the present Circumstances, I can have no Interest with the Admiralty; and I assure You that my Interest at the India House is worse than negative. In that Quarter, I and all who belong to me are proscribed. I did what I could to save the Body Corporate from Ruin; and that was not the way to gain the Friendship of Individuals. Mr. Hastings took the opposite Course, and has succeeded accordingly.

× × × I will know how heavily the public Burthens press, in every Sense and Direction. × × ×

LETTERS & PARTICULAR WORDS COMPARED.

SIR. P. FRANCIS.	JUNIUS. From Woodfall's Specimen	
N°I My M^r	M^r M	N°IX
Friendship	Freely	17
quarter	Question	2
Body	B. of B	10
Barthens	Bile	41
Direction	DEdication	10
Course	Cover	10
know	Know	40
	know	10
who	Who	8
I can have	I have	10
	can	8
II I shall	I shall	10
from :	from	10
send	send	10
with the	with the	8
with the		
may	may	10
obliged	Oblig	8

SIR. P. FRANCIS.	JUNIUS. From Woodfall's Specimen	
N°II think	think	N°X
the	inclosed	8
You	You	10
III earnestly	earnest	VI
IV me the	me the	10
proof	proofs	10
	proof proofs	
of the	of the	10
first	first first	10
correct it	Corrected	10
	correct	
V &	& &	8 41
X &c^a	&c^a	VIII
P. F.	L	8
P. F.	L	8
P. F.	C	7

* From a M.S. now lying at the Publishers.

Printed and Printed

• The Roman Numerals refer to the Fac Similes in this Work.

I shall learn from Your Brother what parts of my Speeches he has sent You in order that I may supply You with the Remainder. × × × × ×

× × × ×

I mean to send You, from time to time, any thing that may be worth Your Notice, or likely to amuse You.

I am, with the sincerest Affection & Esteem

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful Servant

P. Francis.

I beg of you to make whatever use of my Privilege You think fit, without the smallest Scruple.

estly do I intreat You, not
to any Motive, that ought
to me.

I insist on Your sending
me the proof the first Speec
in the Prop.d Pay (28. March
that I may correct it.

J. L.

y never mind any th
y. I have myself to
ith, & write & speak o
stand in prejnion.
I am very sorry
, & offended You

SUPPLEMENT

TO

JUNIUS IDENTIFIED.

"Unless the whole series of things which may be alleged in this argument and every particular thing in it, can reasonably be supposed so have been by accident, then is the truth of it proved."—*Bishop Butler.*

THE Identity of JUNIUS with Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, has been so well established, in the estimation of many who are the best qualified to decide, that we shall no longer consider it a question of fact, but of degree:—Was Sir PHILIP the *only person* concerned in the production of the Letters?—It is proved that the sentiments and style are his: they pervade every letter to such an extent, as to make it visible that at least some part of it was derived from him; and since, in none of the genuine letters, are there any peculiarities either of thought or expression, but such as may be found in his acknowledged productions, we are bound to believe that

he alone was engaged in their composition*. Assistance therefore, if he received any, must have been given him in the mechanical part,—in *transcribing*, or in *conveying* the Letters.

The latter of these is an office of so little moment that singly it is not worth speaking about; though it may be remarked, that if the author did not employ the pen of another, he would most likely undertake it himself. By means of chairmen and ticket-porters, the danger of discovery was eluded, so that to extricate himself from this trifling risk, it is not probable that JUNIUS would encounter the much greater one of confiding his secret to another person. When, therefore, he writes to Woodfall that "the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing department of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night†," he most probably uses the phrase with reference to himself in the capacity of messenger;—or, what amounts to the same thing, he applies the term with an excess of courtesy, and perhaps by way of blind, to the porter or chairman whom he happened to employ. The truth however is told at the commencement of the correspondence. In his fifth private letter to Woodfall (July 21, 1769.)

* We have formerly stated our opinion that JUNIUS occasionally interspersed throughout his Letters, maxims, phrases, and figures, thrown out by Lord CHATHAM and others, *viva voce*. The circumstance, if true, by no means affects the present conclusion.

† JUNIUS, Private Letter, No. 51.

he says, " Whenever you have any thing to communicate to me, let the hint be thus, C *at the usual place;* and so direct to Mr. John Fretly, at the same coffee-house, where it is absolutely impossible *I should be known*;*" that is *himself personally*, for Fretly was a feigned name, which no one could know†. At first, according to this, he called for the letters himself, and when the increased danger compelled him to make use of a porter or a chairman, he was even then liable to be seen: " Your letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who *sent* for it:" he was waiting, it appears, for the return of the man who made the inquiry for him, and who was a common servant, for the waiter's curiosity was not satisfied by seeing *him*.—The obligation imposed on him to send such people as these to the coffee-houses, for at that time he dared not appear himself, accounts for a curious observation in one of his letters to Woodfall, " I think you should give money to the waiters at that place, to make them more attentive‡." The advocate for De Lolme

* JUNIUS, i. *174.

† It was *absolutely impossible* that JUNIUS should be known at the New Exchange coffee-house in the Strand, or at any other coffee-house " west of Temple Bar." (Vide Private Letter, No. 54.) How unfriendly this circumstance is to the supposition that any *public character* was the author, is too obvious to escape the consideration of the reader.

‡ JUNIUS, i. *227.

considers this hint a proof of the writer's poverty! But the cause is clear: JUNIUS could not be certain that the money, if he were to give it, would reach the hands of the waiters; and if it did, an inconvenient sort of suspicion would be excited in their minds, as well as in that of the carrier. To apply to Woodfall on the subject was the only rational step that could be taken. We suspected, before, that JUNIUS was his own messenger: and how closely the description of that messenger, when he was seen, agrees with the personal appearance of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, has been stated in page 167 of this volume.

The only way left then in which JUNIUS could receive assistance would be in having his Letters *copied* for the use of the printer: for whether they were taken down from dictation or not, of this we may be sure, that if he employed an amanuensis at all, it would be in transcribing for the press, that his own hand-writing might not be seen by any other eye. As he did not trust to another the conveyance of his letters, the presumption is against his having had this kind of aid. It is strengthened by the evident disguise of the hand, a disguise which increased whenever the writer was most afraid of being discovered. And it is confirmed by his declaration to Woodfall, "I would avoid having *this hand* too commonly seen. Oblige me then so

much as to have it copied in *any hand*, and sent by the penny post, that is, if you dislike sending it in your own writing. *I* must be more cautious than ever*." Had he employed an amanuensis, he would not have had occasion to trouble Woodfall to get the note copied:—nor in that case would his discovery certainly have ensued from the exposure of the feigned hand-writing of another: it is evident, therefore, from the tenor of this note, as well as probable from other circumstances, that he wrote the Letters himself; and if he was at that time in an office under government, or had ever left traces of his hand-writing where it might be seen by ministers, or any other public men, he had ample reason, after all his care, to express his apprehensions in the way he did.—All this applies exactly to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. Easy access to his writing might be had at that time, both in the War-office, and in the Secretary of State's office. During the fourteen years that he was occupied in those departments, it must have met the eye of many persons, both in administration and out of power. Lord CHATHAM knew it well, for Sir PHILIP at one time acted as his secretary. Lord Holland, the Earl of Egremont, the Earl of Kinnoul, Mr. Calcraft, to whom he had been in the habit of writing short notes, respecting the proceedings in

* JUNIUS. i. 230.

parliament, and many others, were no strangers to it. To Lord Barrington the character was familiar; and the different clerks, Bradshaw, Chamier, &c. might have recognized it in spite of the disguise. If Garrick, therefore, from whose eyes JUNIUS wished the original note to be concealed, was not himself acquainted with the hand-writing of Sir PHILIP, (and it is probable that even he had seen it before,) yet the chance of his shewing it to those who possessed that knowledge which might lead to the detection of the writer, certainly justified these apprehensions on the part of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

If, therefore, the original Letters had been all destroyed, and we had nothing but the printed copies to guide us in determining whether the author wrote them with his own hand or not, we see that the affirmative might be maintained with good reason. Now, from this general view of the subject, let us turn to examine the hand-writing of Sir P. FRANCIS and JUNIUS in the annexed documents, to see whether there is such a degree of similarity between the respective specimens, as would render it certain that, be the author who he may, the actual *writer* of the Letters was no other than Sir PHILIP. Observe, the hand-writing of the latter is not selected for comparison with that of JUNIUS, on account of any suspected resemblance. It comes before us incidentally, not by choice; and

might have been as unlike as that of Burke, Horne Tooke, Hamilton, the Duke of Portland, or any other person who has been imagined to be JUNIUS. But though it is not selected for the sake of its resemblance, no advantage will be taken of that circumstance to ask any concession. If it does not of itself establish the point in question, without requiring other proofs to be connected with it, we will abandon our position, not indeed altogether, for the previous evidence would remain undisturbed, but certainly so far as concerns the *individuality of person* in the character of JUNIUS.

The first thing which strikes the eye in comparing the fac-similes together, is the *general likeness* which runs through them. The hand of JUNIUS is that of a *good writer*, a neat penman, one who knows how to form his letters well; and in this respect, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS displays equal ability. It has been observed of him, that he possessed so perfect a command of his pen, that he could write every kind of hand; and, therefore, it would be difficult to detect a likeness, and illogical to infer any thing from it if it should happen to exist. But though he had this variety in his power, he could not help falling into a habit of forming his letters in a certain manner; and with all his skill in adopting any particular style of writing, it would be utterly impossible for him to imitate that

which he had never seen: the objection therefore is quite futile.—He might have been a loose, a careless, an irregular, or a bad writer, and then we should have discarded the pretension at once; but as he is the reverse of all this, and as the leading character of his hand-writing bears a strong affinity to that of JUNIUS, it is right that we should proceed to a more minute inspection; first premising, that allowance must be made for the disguise which JUNIUS affected, consisting chiefly in that degree of uprightness which results from keeping the elbow far from the side, and the paper opposite the left hand.

Many writers lift up the pen between each letter, many more at the end of a word, but JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP write with such freedom as to connect two, and sometimes three or four words together. (Vide the Specimens, No. IV, &c.)--And in forming *each letter*, they proceed exactly on one uniform principle, producing a series of minute cases of resemblance, utterly impossible to be found in the writings of two different persons.

Even in those peculiarities which would seem to be introduced for the purpose of assisting the disguise, or removing farther off the appearance of similitude, the assumed practice prevailed so long that it became at last a habit, and the singularity lost its character. The small Greek ε is an instance of this. JUNIUS often uses it, Sir PHILIP

only now and then: see *earnestly*, No. III.—The manner in which the little *a* is constructed, by first making an *e*, or rather an *o*, beginning at the bottom,—the *curl* of the letter *e* at the end of a word, —and the *half large c* at the beginning,—are all of them examples of a principle or habit, which however uncommon it may be, systematically prevails throughout these different fac-similes.—When the same word occurs in both specimens, it often consists of letters formed in every instance quite alike, —an infallible demonstration of the same writer: —Vide *correct, first, may, have*, &c.

In their *capital* letters there is the nicest conformity. Whether a *small letter amplified* is alone used, as in *a, n, q*,—or the proper capital *only*, as in *B, D, E, F, G*, &c.—or *both* sorts, as in *C, M, P, S*, —their practice is uniform; and it is scarcely possible to find one character frequently introduced by either, the parallel of which does not exist in the writings of the other. I speak it, of course, from the impression made on my mind by what I have seen in many specimens of their writings: not from these only.—The same experience enables me to add, that their *figures* or *numerals* are invariably alike.

In the application of capital letters to *certain words*, each appears to be governed by no positive rule, yet his practice is consistent with that of the other. Some people use them for every substan-

tive; some for emphatic words only, whether substantives or otherwise; and many omit them altogether, except at the beginning of sentences, and for proper names. JUNIUS and Sir P. FRANCIS prefix them to many, but not to *all* substantives; and beside these, to no other words except *You*, *Yours* and *Yourself*, which are always written by both of them with a capital letter. The general rule may perhaps be a common one, but this single exception forms an instance of most extraordinary consent.

Nothing affords greater scope for diversity of practice, than the *mode of punctuation.* It is a common thing for writers to be very careless in this matter; but JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP are particular in the use of stops, pointing with minute accuracy even the most trifling notes. The principle on which this is done shews the closest conformity of plan. It may seem a trivial circumstance to some, but the introduction of the *short stroke*—or *dash*—between words as well as sentences, to the degree in which it is done by both of them, is characteristic of the writers.—With extraordinary uniformity, where imitation is out of the question, they each place a *grave accent*, more frequently than a round dot, over the small *i*.—They very seldom *divide a word* at the end of a line, preferring in the place of it to leave a great space, which is often filled

up yb an extended flourish of the pen, as is the case in law writings: but when a word is divided, the syllables are connected by a *colon* rather than a hyphen, and the *same* mark is repeated, unnecessarily, at the beginning of the next line:—*vide* the first line in No. 10. of Woodfall's fac-similes, and III. and VI. in the annexed engravings.—Equally or more singular is the manner in which they sometimes form a *note of interrogation, incorrectly*, though exactly alike: *vide* No. VI.—For the *inverted commas*, by which quotations are distinguished, they each substitute two short *straight* strokes. Even in the long irregular curve of the *parenthesis*, the latter limb of which is thicker and less bent than its companion, they differ as much from the accustomed figure as they agree in one peculiar to themselves: *vide* fac-similes, IV. and VIII.

The various forms of the *&*, none of which are continued *below* the line; and the final *superior a* at the end of the *&c*^{a}*;* are more than ordinary indications of the identity of the writers.—Our next trait is irresistible. A copy of one of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS's pamphlets, with the *author's corrections*, having fallen into my possession, I observed, that whenever he blotted out any words or letters in the body of the page, he placed in the margin a Greek *δ*, with a long stroke *before* it. The proper and usual sign of *deletion* is like the Greek ϑ, being in fact a round shaped *d* with the top turned inward

through the body of the letter; and the long stroke should *follow*, not precede the sign, in order to separate it from other corrections which might occur in the same line. On examining afterwards the copy of JUNIUS, which the *author had revised*, and which is now in the hands of Mr. Woodfall, there appeared precisely the same Greek δ for *dele*, with the stroke again *before* it, in the same improper manner. And this double peculiarity is not occasional, but common, throughout the proof-sheets of both authors.

It is customary to distinguish a *quotation* from the rest of the page in two different ways: viz. either by inclosing it between *inverted commas*, or by *underscoring the words*, which, in printing, is expressed by the italic characters. Those who adopt the one plan seldom follow the other; but JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP indiscriminately use both, and it is difficult to say which obtains the preference; yet they do not apply both *in conjunction*, which is sometimes done by other writers.—Still further to declare their individual sameness, they are in the habit of referring to the books, whence extracts are taken, in a way that is very rarely witnessed. Authors commonly affix the asterisk, or star at the *end* of the quotation; thus, without interruption to the flow of the sentence, the eye of the reader is carried down to the authority at the foot of the page: but JUNIUS and Sir P. FRANCIS, always in

their writings, place it at the *beginning;* and though a practice so repugnant to custom would of course sometimes be altered by the printer, yet it is generally adhered to in all their works, from the first edition of JUNIUS's Letters, in 1772, and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS's Letter to Lord North, in 1777, down to his latest productions.

In whatever way it is possible to prove an allegation of identity, we may trace it between the parties before us. It extends even to the minutest shades of resemblance; and is found wherever there is the slightest chance of diversity. In the Essay prefixed to the last edition of the Letters of JUNIUS, it is noticed that the author gave the French form to the words *masque* and *risque.* Sir PHILIP does the same; and not only in these words is his mode of spelling conformable to that of JUNIUS, but in *every other instance.* Some of these are very curious. *Tho'* is always written by both of them briefly, with the apostrophe; *whenever it is printed in full it is contrary to the manuscript: vide* the fac-similes of JUNIUS, and the *first edition* of the Letters; also the various works of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.—*Compleatly,* instead of *completely; in*hance, *in*gross, *in*tire, *in*force, *in*slave, *in*trust, and the like—for *enhance,* &c.; to *skulk,* to *skreen,* are examples of a system of orthography uniformly acted on by both writers, however rarely

practised by others.—*Farther* occurs constantly in all their works: *further* never.—And in *evident mistakes*, wherein they differ from all other people, they still agree with each other. JUNIUS says in the manuscript from which our engraved fac-simile is taken, "You shall endeavor to restore annual parliaments:" and again, "I will endeavor (and if I live will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation." If it had not been seen in the original letter, this peculiarity would have remained unknown, for, being so glaringly improper, it was corrected by the printer in the first edition. The same cause has prevented it from very frequently appearing in the works of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS; but in the "Observations on Mr. Hastings's Narrative," printed in 1786, we find at p. 15, "the artifices imputed to him by which he is said to have endeavored to elude payment;" at p. 20, "I endeavor to fulfil your orders;" and at p. 58, "The odium of a vindictive sanguinary character which the narrative endeavors to fix," &c. The repetition of the error in all these cases proves that it was not accidental.—Again, JUNIUS says to Lord Mansfield, "I feel for human nature, when I see a man so gifted as you are, descend to such vile practise." Edition 1772, i. 130. Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, on March 7, 1786, in moving an amendment to the India Bill of 1784, says, "Of the present Minister I am ready to admit,

that so base a prac*tise* is not to be suspected;" p. 63: at p. 70, he mentions "the prac*tise* and the wisdom of England ever since parliaments had a being: and in his admirable speech on the Revenue Charge, published in 1787, he speaks of "a principle the most profligate, the most corrupt, the most dangerous, I will not say that ever was avowed, for no man ever avowed such a principle before, but that ever was admitted into the prac*tise* of any government;" p. 108. In writings so correct as those of JUNIUS, and with men so well educated as Sir P. FRANCIS, these partial aberrations from the right road are the more singular: and for my own part, I think that *they alone* are sufficient to settle the controversy.

No one acquainted with the private letters of JUNIUS, inserted in the last edition, can fail to perceive their affinity with the two short notes in our engraving, Nos. IV. and V. Look at their form, their size, their brevity; their abrupt, unceremonious beginning and ending, though written in the first person; their conversational style, and the shortness of the sentences. Compare them in all these particulars with the letters to Woodfall, and consider whether in fact they are not so like them, that there is some reason to suspect they were borrowed from that collection. JUNIUS commences many of his notes like these, without any address at the top, or compliment at the close, signing

only the letter C, and sometimes omitting even that. Vide No. 10, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, &c. He uses the same colloquial language that we find in these notes: "*Pray* tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you about prosecuting. Yes or No will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts about town. And *so* I wish you a good night." He also expresses himself very nearly in the words of Sir PHILIP, on occasions somewhat similar: "*Make yourself easy about me*, I believe you are an honest man, and I never am angry." To Wilkes: "I am overcome with the *slavery* of *writing*."

The *signature* terminates this train of coincidences with one as remarkable as any. Observe the marks which accompany the letter C, as it is signed by JUNIUS, and the dash above and below the initials of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The resemblance cannot be more perfect. It properly completes the series, and is in every sense conclusive.

It cannot be thought that any of these correspondences are too unimportant to be mentioned. In determining a question of personal identity, moles and other little marks are more attended to, than the more general, though larger, features of similitude. Nor can any one doubt his own competency to draw a positive conclusion from such premises. The agreement is too prominent, too

definite, to be overlooked or resisted. I have only to add, that in the opinion of those who are *most conversant* with such matters, and whose evidence would be esteemed decisive in a court of law, the *hand-writing of one short note* No. IV. compared with the extract, No. VII. which was written forty years anterior, is sufficient to prove, that *the hand-writing of the Letters of Junius is that of Sir P. Francis.*

The reader is now in possession of all the proofs relating to JUNIUS, according to the order in which they presented themselves to the writer of these pages. Till the greater part of the work was printed, he was ignorant of the collateral testimony of the Speeches of Lord CHATHAM: and it was completed, before he knew whether the test of the hand-writing would be favourable or otherwise. But from this source alone a series of facts have been derived, which carry absolute conviction with them: and it now appears, that as our former investigation proved Sir P. FRANCIS to be the Author of JUNIUS's Letters, so the present makes it clear that *none but he* was concerned in supporting the character. Thus in various ways, each effective in itself, and all of them together irresistible, the truth of our conjecture is established.

Many important additions might be made to the historical and critical part of our argument,

two or three of which we shall briefly mention, for the satisfaction of those who may desire to carry their inquiries further.

It has been remarked, that the year 1770 was more interesting than any other to JUNIUS. His hopes of such a change in administration, as should introduce Mr. George Grenville and Lord CHATHAM into power, were at the height; and there never was a time when they could be entertained with more reason. To the speeches of Lord CHATHAM at the commencement of the session, the whole nation, and JUNIUS in particular, looked with extreme earnestness for an augury of success on the part of the opposition. These speeches were reported, as we have seen, by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.—But this was not all. His lordship's next recorded speech, a very short one, was delivered on the 2d of February, and the report of it, which Almon took from the London Museum, is from internal evidence the work of JUNIUS.—The next, which is also briefly given, occurred in the debate of March 2d, and it is shewn to be from the pen of JUNIUS by the following letter, which accompanied it when first inserted in the Public Advertiser of March 5, though, of course, omitted by Almon. "Sir, I had the good fortune, last Friday, to be in *company* with two noble peers who have not been accustomed lately to meet often in private. As the subject of their *conversation* was *curious*, and worth

the attention of your readers, I send you that part of it which I can recollect, and very nearly in their own words. I am, sir, your humble servant, INVISIBLE." Comparing this letter with the note prefixed to Burke's speech, by JUNIUS, on the 5th December, 1767*, and with the introductory paragraph to another sketch by him, on the 19th of November, 1770, "Sir, A few days ago I was in a large public *company*, where there happened some *curious conversation*†," we at once perceive that the report which follows may be justly attributed to JUNIUS. It then opens in these words:

"*Lord Chatham.* The house of Savoy has produced a race of illustrious princes; notwithstanding which, it must be confessed that the court of Turin sold you to the court of France in the last peace."

After this sentence, the reports in the Public Advertiser, and the London Museum, into which it was copied, agree word for word with the debate as it is given by Almon; but, instead of the above four lines, *Almon has inserted more than a page and a half* of the speech of Lord CHATHAM, *not to be found printed in any other work;* and the reporter has introduced, in the course of it, the substance of the above in an emphatic manner, marking it with italics and small capitals, as if it

* JUNIUS, ii. 498. † JUNIUS, ii. 278.

were, what it certainly was, the essence of that part of the speech—that portion which he took down in his notes—and which his recollection afterwards enabled him to extend to twelve times the original length. "Then raising his voice, he asserted in a manly and dignified tone, *That this country* WAS SOLD *at the late peace,* that we were SOLD *by the court of Turin to the court of France:* what more persons were concerned he would not at present state; but what he had stated was an indisputable FACT*."

The question, who furnished Almon, in 1792, with this extended account of the debate on March 2, 1770? admits but of one answer, when it is considered that from Sir PHILIP FRANCIS were received the *two full reports preceding*, and one, still longer, *immediately following this.* His anxiety for the success of Lord CHATHAM'S appeals prompted him to the undertaking, and *he had no competitor.* In the circumstance therefore of this *extended report,* we find an additional argument of Sir PHILIP'S identity with JUNIUS.

The session closed on the 19th of May, and the prorogation continued to November the 13th, 1770. In the mean time JUNIUS was not idle. On June 16, under the signature of Lucius, the

* Almon's Anecdotes, ii. 144.

name which he assumed in his attack on ministers for their conduct to Sir Jeffery Amherst, he gave the first authentic information of the seizure of Falkland Island. On June 19, and again on July 3, he alludes to it in a spirited manner under the same signature. On October 1, commenting on the affair of Falkland Island, he strongly pleads for Lord CHATHAM's appointment to conduct the expected war. On the 8th he makes the subject of Falkland Island matter of complaint and reproach to ministers. On the 12th of November he sent Woodfall the first Letter to Lord Mansfield, which, "though begun within these few days, has been very greatly laboured." It was intended to detach his lordship altogether from the support of an administration, which without him must have fallen to the ground. JUNIUS designed it to appear on the first day of the session, to assist and encourage the attack which was to be made on the ministry that evening. "This paper [he writes privately to Woodfall] should *properly have appeared to-morrow*, but I could not compass it, so let it be *announced to-morrow*, and printed Wednesday."

Sir PHILIP FRANCIS was at this very time equally interested and equally industrious. He was in the House of Lords on the 22d of November, taking notes of the great debate respecting Falkland Island. The speech of Lord CHATHAM on

that occasion is most elaborately reported by him, according to Wright's Parliamentary History, for 1770, where this speech is inserted, with a note by the editor acknowledging, in the same terms as before, to whom he was indebted for it. But this was not the first time of its appearing in print. Almon was also provided with the same report, by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS as it now appears, though his name was then *studiously concealed:* for what purpose it is not difficult to say. The subject was well known to have been treated of by JUNIUS; and he might justly fear that if the debate should be traced to him, the secret of his identity with that writer would be discovered. To what else can we attribute so mysterious a silence on the part of Almon, who, though he never directly mentions him*, does not even *hint* this time at the person from whom the report was derived: yet it is longer, and not less ably written, than either of those which led him to allude to the author in a distant manner. The whole debate occupies thirty-seven pages of the second volume of the Anecdotes, thirty of which are taken up with Lord CHATHAM's speech alone. Of its energy, and its correspondence with the style and sentiments of JUNIUS, I can give the reader no

* In his preface he returns thanks to several gentlemen, *by name*, to whom he was infinitely less obliged, but there is not a word about Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

idea, without making such copious extracts as would not be justified in this stage of our argument. Let it suffice to say, that it affords additional evidence of the same kind as that which is contained in the former speeches; and that the pen, even of JUNIUS, was worthily employed on it.

In a note to this speech, Sir PHILIP displays, by way of contrast, the firmness and foresight of Mr. George Grenville, on the occasion of the seizure of Turk's Island by the French; and in the speech itself he points a reproach at another eminent character, not quite so great a favourite with JUNIUS. "There are other men, my lords, [*looking sternly at Lord Mansfield*] who, to speak tenderly of them, were not quite so forward in the demonstrations of their zeal to the reigning family, &c*." JUNIUS makes the same charge against his lordship. "This man was always a rank Jacobite. Lord Ravensworth produced the most satisfactory evidence of his having frequently drank the Pretender's health upon his knees." (ii. 160.)

Almon's report of the debate on Falkland Island is followed by some observations on the *double* cabinet ("one *official* the other *efficient*") which at that time gave great offence, and much embarrassed public business; and in a note to this

* Almon's Anecdotes of Lord CHATHAM, ii. 209.

account we find embodied a great part of one of JUNIUS's Letters, published under the signature of Domitian. (*Vide* the whole Letter in JUNIUS, iii. 314.) In this note the original is much garbled. It is qualified and corrected in a way which would not have been thought of, or ventured upon, by any person but the author, solicitous to remove from it such names and allusions, as would otherwise tend to prove its sympathy with the direct Letters of JUNIUS. The signature is omitted, and the latter part of the letter, which relates to the affair of Falkland Island, in regard to which the rest may be considered merely introductory, is quite suppressed. The *subject*, and the *time and place* in which it is revived to form a note, *connect it with the speech*, and consequently with Sir P. FRANCIS; and on the other hand, it is brought home to JUNIUS, for he *authenticates the Letters of Domitian in one of his private notes to Woodfall*, and on that ground they were inserted in the late collection of his writings.—The extract from this letter does not constitute the whole of the note. It is accompanied with some original remarks on "another prominent trait in the character of the British government,"—the system of a secret cabinet under the denomination of the "*king's friends*, who promulgated, in language quite unreserved, *that his Majesty was his own minister*. The best comment upon this text is, the diminu-

tion of the British empire in consequence of the war with America. It was to this system that *Lord Chatham* alluded in his *speech* on the 2d *day of March*, 1770." Here is another indication of that intermixture of character which has been developed in the former part of the note. The writer of the above appears to be Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, and he refers to that speech of the 2d of March, as if he had himself furnished the report of it. We had before determined that it must have been sent to Almon by him, on account of that amplification of it which appears, for the first time, in Almon's report. Now, as the former part of the above-mentioned note is composed of JUNIUS's Letter under the name of *Domitian*, and as the original copy of the speech on March 2d is, by the introductory Letter, proved to have been sent by JUNIUS to the Public Advertiser, the identity of JUNIUS with Sir PHILIP FRANCIS is again made evident.

But the dispute respecting Falkland Island was not yet settled. The Public Advertiser of December 11, contains the following paragraph: "It is talked that the debates are to be renewed very soon in the upper assembly, for having all papers respecting the differences with Spain, previous to the negociation now on foot, submitted to their inspection." And JUNIUS, on January 30, 1771,

commences a letter respecting Falkland Island, in which he attacks that interior cabinet which Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, with reference to the same subject, speaks of in the note already mentioned, by the appellation of "the *king's friends**." JUNIUS says, "If we recollect in what manner the *king's friends* have been constantly employed, we shall have no reason to be surprised at any condition of disgrace to which the once respected name of Englishmen may be degraded†." He then goes on to give a statement of the whole proceeding in the case of the seizure, and the subsequent behaviour of the English and Spanish governments, concluding with a severe examination and exposure of several passages in the king's speech on November 13, 1770. This was the letter which Dr. Johnson was employed to answer.—The next from JUNIUS, dated February 6, 1771, is on the same subject, and contains another allusion to the "secret system in the closet." It was published the day after the discussion in the House of Lords, on the conduct of ministers in the negociation relative to Falkland Island, on which occasion JUNIUS took, as we have seen, such extreme pains to procure free admission to the debates. (Vide JUNIUS, i. *217.) His motive may be guessed at, but it is further illustrated by a paragraph which appeared in the

* Almon's Anecdotes, ii. 219. † JUNIUS, ii. 182.

Public Advertiser of February 1. "Lord CHATHAM, it is said, has by some means obtained an authentic copy of every single paper that passed between Great Britain and Spain in a late negociation, and intends, it is said, to compare what he has, with what may be delivered in as the whole of that correspondence by the ministry, whence it is apprehended some important discovery will be made." Whether any notes were taken of this debate is uncertain. No account of it has been published. But *from the anxiety of* JUNIUS *to be present*, we should infer that the opportunity was not lost; and from the care Sir PHILIP FRANCIS took to preserve notes of a former discussion *on the same subject*, we have the best reason to think that he is not unfurnished with materials for the present.—This, at least, is certain,—that on a great political question which JUNIUS vigorously engaged in, and was earnestly desirous to hear discussed, the only debate on record is most extensively and ably reported by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.

On the 11th of December Lord CHATHAM made a motion relative to the law of libel. The debate which ensued is briefly but spiritedly sketched by JUNIUS, in the Miscellaneous Letters on the 13th, 14th, and 17th of December, 1770. He has incorporated a considerable part of it, as his own, in the last of these letters; and he has

also introduced it *in the notes to his preface.* As this has been observed upon before; (Vide The Identity, p. 132) I shall detain the reader no longer than to remark, that Almon's report of this part of the speech, in differing now and then from the two reports by JUNIUS, as these again vary in expression from each other, affords another clue to find the author. The person who made the verbal alterations when the speech was offered a second time to the public, would be very likely to take just the same course the third time, in the copy which he gave to Almon.

Throughout all these transactions relative to the debates in which Lord CHATHAM, for the space of two whole sessions, made his greatest efforts for the removal of Ministers, we perceive Sir PHILIP FRANCIS and JUNIUS interested in the same events, occupied in the same actions, and mingling their feelings together in one cause, yet neither of them at any moment clashing with the other, so as to present the idea of two persons,—neither of them repeating what had been done or recorded by the other, yet both together framing a complex but orderly tissue of circumstances, complete but not superfluous when united, though separately consisting of parts unconnected, and springing from no system. The longer of these speeches are all positively traced to Sir PHILIP; the shorter are as certainly assignable to JUNIUS:

yet there is nothing in any of them exclusively appropriate to either; for Sir PHILIP shews that he had a hand in the latter, and JUNIUS partly owes his discovery to the extraordinary indications of his participation in the former. In a word, one person was plainly and undeniably the reporter of the whole; and that person is Sir P. FRANCIS, the same who, by other evidence, stands identified with JUNIUS.

Almon, in many other parts of the Anecdotes, appears to have received the assistance of Sir PHILIP, and particularly in all the *details respecting the peace of* 1763. The public documents by which they are illustrated, and which occupy nearly half a volume, are no doubt those referred to, in the following extract of a speech delivered by Sir P. FRANCIS on the 29th February, 1792: "On what principle did he [Lord CHATHAM] consent to enter into a negociation in the year 1761, with Monsieur Bussy? was it on the ground of a *status quo?* would he have suffered such a preliminary to be stated to him? No: *I affirm, with knowledge,* that he would have rejected it with scorn. The principle of that negociation was an *uti possidetis.* We were to keep all our conquests, unless the contracting parties should agree upon exchanges for their mutual convenience. *I attended those conferences. The documents are in print.*

But I have other evidence, if possible, more in point, and drawn from the same authority. The anecdote I allude to is of a public nature, and *must appear in the records of the Secretary of State's office.* When the court of Spain interposed, and endeavoured to seduce us to terms advantageous to France, what was the answer of Lord CHATHAM to the Spanish ambassador, I think it was the Conde de Fuentes? *I am sure of the substance, I could almost answer for the words:* "What, shall the Court of Versailles, the common disturber of the peace of Europe, perpetually profit by her acquisitions; but when the events of war have been against her, is she to be re-instated without loss; is she to suffer nothing from defeat?"—According to another Report, "Mr. FRANCIS said, *he penned the answer of Lord Chatham,* as he did *many of his dictating.*"

The field this opens for inquiry is too extensive to be entered on in this place. Those who are acquainted with the numerous and extraordinary allusions which JUNIUS makes to the negociations and transactions of *that period,* in his *Letter to the Duke of Bedford,* and in other parts of his writings, will not require to be told, that our argument might be powerfully supported by some of the particulars in this declaration.

With peculiar happiness of adaptation, the

present case applies even to circumstances, which, with a strong degree of probability originally in their favour, have been raised into consequence by the frequent mention which is made of them, and the general impression of their reality. First, —Sir P. FRANCIS is the only person *now living* to whom the Letters of JUNIUS have been attributed, and yet it is currently believed that whoever was the author, he is not yet dead. No papers have hitherto been produced, from the port-folio of any deceased author or politician, which could throw light on the subject. The original copies of the Letters, which appear to have been returned to the author as soon as they were done with, and which caused so many packets to be left for him at the different coffee-houses, are still probably in his own possession, for they have never again been heard of. No similar hand-writing has been laid before the public: nor have the two books, bound in vellum, fallen into other hands, as far as we know, than those of their first possessor; though the motive for having them so distinguished by the binding was, doubtless, that by their means, at some distant period, and probably after his death, the honour of having written the work should be reclaimed for the real author, in opposition to pretensions made on the part of others.

Secondly,—We have before stated our convic-

tion that JUNIUS, like Sir P. FRANCIS, had no personal acquaintance with Mr. George Grenville: though some have imagined that JUNIUS was not only well known to that minister, but secretly encouraged by him in writing the letters.—This supposition is, however, disproved by the fact, that there is preserved at Stowe a private unpublished letter, written by JUNIUS to Mr. G. Grenville, wherein he desires him to refrain from making any attempt to discover the author, as it might do harm, but could produce no satisfactory result; adding, that in proper time he would declare himself. The tenor of this letter confirms the declaration of JUNIUS, that he was personally unknown to Mr. Grenville, and completely refutes the idea, that Charles Lloyd, the private secretary of Mr. Grenville, or that any other person at the instigation of the latter, wrote the work; but on the part of Sir P. FRANCIS, the whole proceeding appears rational and consistent, and the declaration perfectly true.

The third and last presumptive coincidence which we shall at present notice, is by far the most curious of any.—It is commonly reported and believed, that the King, the late Lord North, and the present Lord Grenville, were at some time or other made acquainted with the real name of JUNIUS. According to the following anecdote in Wraxall's Memoirs, v. 1. p. 455, the King acquired this know-

ledge in the year 1772. "I have been assured that the King riding out in the year 1772, accompanied by General Desaguliers, said to him in conversation, '*We know who Junius is, and he will write no more.*' The General, who was too good a courtier to congratulate upon such a piece of intelligence, contented himself with bowing, and the discourse proceeded no farther. Mrs. Shuttleworth, who was General Desaguliers' daughter, believed in the accuracy of this fact." As the report of such a discovery having been made is now very generally credited, we may admit the evidence of this anecdote in deciding at what period it took place. The date assigned is the more entitled to notice, as at that time Lord North was prime minister, and in that capacity he would most likely become acquainted with the secret. By parity of reasoning, it is also probable, that Lord Grenville acquired his information at the time he held a similar situation: indeed, without this, it is not easy to conceive how Lord North and Lord Grenville should possess an opportunity of gaining that intelligence, which was denied to others in their sphere.

On the basis of our conjecture, all these particulars have a distinct and rational ground of insertion. Admitting it possible that Sir PHILIP was known to be JUNIUS in the year 1772, we at once find a reason for the otherwise inexplicable event of his appointment, at that very time, to

India. It certainly was strange that Lord Barrington, with whom he is represented to have had a quarrel, and from whom he could not obtain the next step of promotion in the War-office, though it was justly due to him, should in the same year, and while Sir PHILIP was abroad, recommend him so "honourably and generously" to Lord North, as to procure for him the rank of a sovereign in India; it was unaccountable that the dismissed clerk, who could not retain a salary of 400*l.* a year, should all at once be raised to one of 10,000*l.* But conceive him to be JUNIUS, and every thing is explained.—Perhaps Lord Barrington first perceived the truth, in the hints which were thrown out so unguardedly by Veteran, and being one of the coterie called the King's friends, he may have communicated his surmises to his Majesty, and proposed this honourable mode of banishing the offender. But by whatever means it may have reached the ear of the King, by this disclosure the royal assent was probably obtained.—Lord North would then very reasonably demand to know for what services he was to advance Mr. FRANCIS so much above his former rank. *His* privity was therefore unavoidable.—As for Lord Grenville, if ever he proposed Sir P. FRANCIS to the King, to fill any place or receive any honour, and if such proposal did not altogether meet the wishes of his Majesty, it is possible that the secret concerning

JUNIUS would be stated in confidence as the sole cause of the demur. This is mere guessing, but it does not require much ingenuity to conceive under what circumstances such a communication would be almost irresistibly called for.—The subject would bear further elucidation, but the writer is desirous to restrict his argument to those public documents and recorded facts which are open to all, and to which it is no breach of delicacy in him to advert.

It is hardly necessary to mention, after what has been adduced, that in all his researches, the writer *has never met with one fact, one thought, one word, which in the slightest degree impeded the course of his demonstration.* This is a negative criterion of the truth, but of no small value after so extensive a survey, and it properly crowns the whole pile of evidence.

Sir PHILIP FRANCIS must be content to share the lot of all those who have the *causam celebritatis* to boast of: *in hunc oculi omnium conjiciuntur, atque in eum, quid agat, quemadmodum vivat, inquiritur; et tanquam in clarissimâ luce versetur, ita nullum obscurum potest nec dictum ejus esse nec factum.* It is said that he is angry at the charge: that would be folly. Events, over which no one had control, paved the way for the discovery; and a person who had never seen him, or his hand-writing, or

had a word of intelligence from any one concerning him, became the innocent herald of it. Can there be a stronger proof of the impossibility of further concealment? Let him then console himself with the thought that he has kept his secret as far as it depended on himself. It was calculated to last out a long life, but he has happily outlived it. Now, having ably and consistently performed his part, he appears in his natural character before the curtain drops, and will retire amid the plaudits of an admiring people.

THE END.

T. Miller, Printer, 5, Noble Street, Cheapside.

The following List contains the titles of some of Sir Philip Francis's Publications, but it is admitted to be very incomplete. It is inserted for the use and information of those persons who may desire to extend their inquiries beyond the present volume.

1. Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William, on the Settlement and Collection of the Revenues of Bengal: with a plan of Settlement, recommended to the Court of Directors in January, 1776.—4to. 1782.

*** This *Plan of Settlement* is thus mentioned by Mr. Burke, in a letter to his son, dated Nov. 1777.—"I don't know that I ever read any state paper drawn with more ability, and indeed I have seldom read a paper of any kind with more pleasure."—*Bissett's Life of Burke.*)

2. Letter to Lord North, late Earl of Guildford. With an Appendix. Dated Calcutta, 17th Sept. 1777.—8vo.

3. Speech in the House of Commons, on Friday, July 2, 1784, on India Affairs.—8vo. 1784.

4. Two Speeches in the House of Commons, on the original East India Bill, and on the Amended Bill, on the 16th and 26th of July, 1784.—8vo.

5. Speech in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, March 7, 1786, on moving for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the India Act of 1784.—8vo.

6. Observations on Mr. Hastings' Narrative of his Transactions at Benares, in 1781.—8vo. 1786.

7. Observations on Mr. Hastings' Letter relative to Presents.—8vo.

8. Observations on Mr. Hastings' Defence.—8vo.

9. Speech in the House of Commons, on the 19th of April, 1787, for the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings on the Revenue Charge.—With an Appendix.—8vo. 1787.

10. Answer of Philip Francis, Esq. to the Charge against Sir J.

Clavering, Col. George Monson, and Mr. Francis, at the Bar of the House of Commons, on February 4, 1788, by Sir Elijah Impey.—8vo. 1788.

11. Speeches in the House of Commons, 28th February and 2d March, 1791, printed in "Proceedings in Parliament relative to the Origin and Progress of the War in India, &c."—8vo. 1792.

12. Heads of a Speech in reply to Mr. Dundas, April 23, 1793, on the Government and Trade of India.

13. Draught of a Resolution and Plan, intended to be proposed to the Society of the Friends of the People, drawn up in the Autumn of 1793, and laid before the Society on the 8th of March, 1794.

14. Speech in Answer to Mr. Sylvester Douglas, 1796.

15. Proceedings in the House of Commons on the Slave Trade, and State of the Negroes in the West India Islands, with an Appendix [including Speeches on April 18, 1791, March 15, and April 11, 1796].—8vo. 1796.

16. The Question as it stood in March, 1798.—8vo. 1798.

17. Speech on the Affairs of India, July 19, 1803.

18. Speeches in the House of Commons, on the War against the Mahrattas.—8vo. 1805.

19. Speech against the Exemption of Foreign Property in the Funds from the Duty on Income.—8vo. 1806.

20. Letter to Viscount Howick, on the State of the East India Company, 1807.

21. Reflections on the Abundance of Paper in Circulation.—1810.

22. Letter to Earl Grey.—8vo. 1814.

23. Letter Missive to Lord Holland.—1816.

24. Plan of a Reform in the Election of the House of Commons, adopted by the Society of the Friends of the People, in 1795: with a new Introduction and other Documents.

Many other of his corrected Speeches, besides the above, may be seen in Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, and Wright's Parliamentary History. The latter also contains Sir Philip's Report of Lord Chatham's Speeches in the year 1770.

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on 21 October, 2015